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Rising India

RISING INDIA

AN URBAN ANTHROPOLOGICAL APPROACH TO PURI

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Preface

It gives me a great pleasure in presenting this volume on the study of Urbanization of a Great Traditional City, entitled "Rising India", which describes the processes and factors of urbanization of an ancient place of pilgrimage—Puri, which has been one of the four *Dhams* of the Hindus. Puri attracts lakhs of pilgrims from different corners of the Hindu Universe throughout the year. This traditional *Tirtha* of Puri has passed through the various historical phases, and therefore, has acquired many Sanskritic, Buddhistic, Tantric as well as the folk elements, which are evident in its "Sacred Complex" i.e. the sacred geography, the sacred performances and the sacred specialists (or different Niyogas). These aspects of this traditional pilgrim's centre have been highlighted by many scholars (*viz.* Patnaik, Rath, Mahapatra etc.) from time to time. However, besides these aspects, the increasing trend of urbanization of this traditional town of Puri, has been an important factor, and upto now no anthropological work of any kind had been done on it. Thus, keeping in view the importance of both the sacred and urban dimensions of Puri, the Post-Graduate Department of Anthropology, Ranchi University, Ranchi, organised a field expedition along with a batch of the Post-Graduate Research students under my guidance and supervision, which continued for nearly three months *i.e.* from December, 1974 to February, 1975 and the present volume is, thus, an out-come of that empirical field study.

While carrying out field work at Puri as well as analysing the field data at Ranchi, I have got helps and encouragements from a large number of persons and institutions. First of all, I express my deep sense of gratitude and gratefulness to Dr. L.P. Vidyarthi, University Professor and Head, Depart-

ment of Anthropology, Ranchi University, Ranchi and President of the Xth World Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences, who not only provided me a golden opportunity to study the urban dimension of this traditional city, but also took a great pain to visit us directly in the field while returning from Cambridge after attending an International Conference on Pre-Farming and Marginal Tribes. His visit to the field and providing guidance at the spot, gave us multiple enthusiasm to complete the research assignment. I am also thankful to all the research students of Puri group, however, special thanks are due to Miss Neelam Taneja M.Sc. (Gold Medalist), Miss Surinder Khurana M.Sc., Mr. Jaiprakash M.Sc., B.L. (now advocate) and Mr. Ranjit Singh M.Sc., who were closely associated with the present work. My colleagues Dr. K. N. Sahay, Dr. Narayan Mishra, Dr. V.S. Upadhyay and Dr. A. N. Sandhwar have been very helpful at the time of analysing the field data and have given their comments and suggestions during seminars when the findings of this study had been presented. At Puri, Padmashri Pandit Ratha, Pandit Gopi Nath Mishra, the Veda pathi of the Mukti Mandap, Mr. P. N. Sinha and other officials of the Puri Municipality, Mr. Kanungo, Sub-Inspector of police and officer-in-charge of the town thana and other police officials etc., all helped us and therefore, I am highly obliged to them.

Messers. Classical Publications, New Delhi, has taken keen interest in publishing and bringing it out from the press at an early date and I am really very grateful to them for the same.

MAKHAN JHA

**RANCHI
MAY, 1978**

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1

Introduction

Urbanization, as a process of culture change, has been quite an old process in Human history and the Prehistorians have considered it as the second phase of socio-economic revolution, after the first phase of Agricultural revolution of the Neolithic period. It is argued (Vidyarthi : 1971) that the first set of urban centres in India evolved out of the agricultural villages in the river valley of the Indus' as early as five thousand years ago. The urban centres of Mohenjodaro and Harappa etc., developed as the regional towns in the Indus Valley to cater to the economic, religious as well as the administrative needs of the villagers. These towns of the Bronze age definitely attracted the specialists and a set of traders, and thus, heterogeneity of rudimentary types in terms of occupation, religious specialisation and social behaviours distinctly evolved in the dominating and pervading rural matrix.

After the prehistoric phase many cities developed in ancient India and among them mention may be made of Kashi, Prayag, Ayodhya, Haridwar, Mathura, Dwarika, Patiliputra, Rajgrihi, Janakpur, Vaishali etc., which were mostly religio-administrative towns. From the several studies (Bharadwaj : 1973, Vidyarthi and Jha : 1974, Jha : 1971, Singer : 1958, 72, Saraswati : 1975), it becomes evident that these religious or religio-administrative towns of ancient India added to themselves, certain commercial and indigenous urban functions. These towns were greatly

integrated with the Regions (Jha : 1978), on the one hand, and some times with the whole of India, on the other, for religious purposes, and some of them still continue to serve the whole of Hindu Universe even today. These were the towns of "Orthogenetic Origin" (Redfield and Singer : 1956) and represented the phase of primary urbanization (*ibid*) in the civilizational frame of India.

Many cities were built up during the Muslim period specially during the region of Emperor Akbar (1556-1603) and towns like Agra, Delhi, Firozpur, Fatehpur Sikri, Farrukhabad, Lucknow etc., were established, spotted with forts, mosques, tombs and palatial buildings. Thus, during this period the process of urbanization got a great impetus from various Rajput and Muslim rulers of mediaeval India. However, when the Britishers came to India with their advanced technology, scientific knowledge and commercial motivation, the process of urbanization in India took a new turn. It marked the beginning of industrial urbanism and several port-cities, mineral towns, administrative towns etc., were established, which, finally accelerated the urbanization in India.

Thus, in India different phases of history have given birth to several kinds of towns and cities and the process of urbanization has been in operation since time immemorial. However, the study of urbanization is of very recent concern for the social scientists in India. Though some of the modern and industrial cities of India like Baroda (Malkani : 1957), Calcutta (Bose : 1958, Sen : 1960), Surat (R.P.C.: 1957-59), Poona (Sovani : 1956), Jamshedpur (Mishra : 1959), Hyderabad (Iyengar : 1957), Bombay (Lakhadawala : 1962) Lucknow (Mukherjee and Singh : 1961) Kanpur (Majumdar : 1960) Ranchi (Vidyarthi : 1969), H.E.C. near Ranchi (Vidyarthi:1970) etc , have been studied by some of the social scientists including Anthropologists, but the urbanization of any religious town, which has been called by Redfield (1956) as Great Traditional City, has not yet been studied in India. In this direction, Milton Singer's work on "When A Great Tradition Modernizes" (1972) is an important step and, I hope, the present study of the

urbanization of the Great Traditional Town of Puri, which has been a famous centre of pilgrimage and is considered as one of the *Dhamas* by the orthodox Hindus, is probably the first work of its kind in the field of Urban Anthropology in India. However, before discussing the urban dimension of this traditional place of pilgrimage, I would like to trace the rise and development of Indian Anthropology (Vidyarthi : two volumes-1978), in very brief, with a view to throwing light on the types of researches carried out on the different dimensions of Indian civilization.

Indian Anthropology

Anthropology in India is comparatively a young discipline. Beginning in the latter half of the 19th century with the ethnographic compilation of traditions, customs and beliefs of different tribes and castes in the various provinces of India, it has moved slowly to establish itself as an independent field of enquiry and study. Anthropology in India has been immensely benefited by its close collaboration and association with the anthropologists of Great Britain and United States. Kroeber (1953 : p. 364), in a statement on the organisation of Anthropology in India, has very rightly remarked: "India has listened both to Britain and to the United States and wisely to herself".

Indian Anthropology can be divided into three phases so far as its advancement in concerned:-

Formulatory Phase

Anthropological studies in India are said to have had their beginning in the investigations of Indologists. Sir William Jones (1746-94) judge, linguistic genius and Indologist founded the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1774, which marked the beginning of the formulatory phase in Indian Anthropology. In his inaugural address he proposed that the society will undertake inquiries concerned with 'Man' and 'Nature' in India. The major interest was, of course, to reveal the past of India through the study of Sanskrit texts. However the collection of ethnographic and ethnological data was also contemplated and encouraged. Prominent men among the pioneers of this disci-

pline were Hamilton, Thornton, Campbell, Risley, Thurston, Rangachari, Russell, Hiralal, Crooke etc. Many sacred scriptures of the Hindus like Vedas, Puranas, Upanishads etc., were translated into English by the British scholars. William Crooke (1913:686-714) developed the concepts of "Classical Brahmanism" and "Neo-Brahmanism". This period was also marked by the compilation and publication of several volumes on tribes and castes, containing brief and often sketchy accounts of the divergent customs and practices of various groups. The orientation of these volumes was administrative rather than academic or scientific, for they were intended primarily to acquaint the British administrators with the diversity of customs in the different segments of the country's population.

According to D.N. Majumdar (1966,78), the formulatory phase continued till 1911 while Vidyarthi (1966,78) is of the opinion that the formulatory period should continue till 1920. The reason assigned by Majumdar in winding up the formulatory period in 1911 is that the first tribal monograph written by the first trained Indian anthropologist was published in 1912. This book was "The Munda and their Country" written by S.C. Roy. Vidyarthi, however, argues (*ibid*) that many developments in Indian Social Sciences took place around 1920. For instance, the department of Anthropology was opened in Calcutta University for the first time in India in 1920. Secondly, the teaching of Social Anthropology was also started in Bombay University in 1920. Thirdly, the first Indian Journal, "*Man in India*" was started in 1921. All these developments in Indian Anthropology took place around 1920 and hence this is the beginning of the constructive period, as put forward by Vidyarthi. .

Constructive Phase

Majumdar says that this period in Indian Anthropology continued till 1937 while Vidyarthi is of the opinion that the constructive period continued till 1950. He also feels that the period from 1911 to 1949 was one of great significance for Indian Anthropology. It was during this period that the cons-

tructive works were taken up by the British Anthropologists. This second phase in the development of the subject characterised by detailed monographic studies of individual tribes mostly through personal observation and enquiry extending over a fairly long period, was also inspired by administrative needs. The all fragmentary accounts accumulated in different volumes on tribes and castes were found generally inadequate for the purpose of day to day administration of tribal areas and were often not very reliable. This inspired the administrators working in tribal areas to undertake detailed studies of tribal groups and for this, they received support and encouragement from the Government. In course of this, a number of Indian Anthropologists were trained and many of them were sent to European Universities for higher studies. That is why this period should be called constructive according to Vidyarthi. Majumdar, however, argues that under the influence of British Anthropologists and the master mind Malinowski (who participated in the Silver Jubilee of the Indian Science Congress at Lahore in 1937) many theoretical projects were formulated and thereafter implemented under the sponsorship of many research institutes of India and Great Britain. Thus the period of 1937 is a critical one.

Thus when Indians entered the field of Anthropology, they accepted the earlier works as their model and produced comprehensive volumes on tribes and castes as well as studies on individual tribes following the established pattern. Accounts of tribal life produced by them followed largely the traditional ethnographic model, but their academic interests and theoretical orientations were also unmistakably reflected in their writings.

Indological studies too provided some incentive and encouragement to studies of an anthropological nature. References in the classical texts to the tribal element in India's population were carefully examined. Religious cults and practices were also studied from this angle. Attempts were made to trace the origin of various Hindu social institutions, particularly the caste system, on the basis of scriptures and religious texts.

So far Anthropology was thought of primarily as the study of tribal cultures. The accent was on descriptive studies that could preserve for posterity accounts of a way of life that was fast disintegrating and disappearing from the Indian scene. Theoretical considerations were then taboo to the field-anthropologists for fear of being branded as an "Arm Chair Anthropologist".

It was, however, during this period that Majumdar took up the analytical study of the polyandrous *Khasa* tribe of Jaunsar Babar, and his report was published in the form of a monumental book, "Himalayan Polyandry". Verrier Elwin's monographs—"Maria Murder and Suicide" (1942), "Muria and their Ghotul" (1947) and others are famous works of this period. Apart from this, the works of K.P. Chattopadhyay, T.C. Das, N.K. Bose, A. Aiyappan, P. Mitra, S.C. Dube etc. are also significant.

It is against this background that we have to understand the entry of Indian Anthropology into the third phase of its development, a period of considerable quantitative advancement and some qualitative achievement.

Analytical or Critical Phase

This phase started almost soon after the attainment of National Independence in India. This period is called analytical according to Vidyarthi, while Majumdar calls it a critical one. During this period Indian Anthropology came in contact with, and was considerably influenced by, American Anthropology. Vidyarthi (1966,78) has remarked that after the second global war and particularly after India's independence, Indian Anthropology took a new turn. Many critical and analytical works taken up by the American Anthropologists who also encouraged some of their Indian counterparts to undertake some of the sophisticated problems for research and study.

During this period a number of new university departments

were started and the existing ones were strengthened. During this phase some anthropologists courageously broke away from the tradition of ethnographic study of tribes. A new dimension was added to Indian Anthropology when village communities were included among the subjects regarded as constituting legitimate fields of anthropological enquiry. Alongwith the subject matter, the approach to anthropological studies was also undergoing a significant change. There was a perceptible awareness of the wider theoretical implications of some of the problems being studied. The excessive concern with the study of single cultures was gradually being replaced by an anxiety to study wider social systems. This trend was encouraged by the field studies of a small band of theoretically sophisticated anthropologists from foreign universities specially of the States. Senior Indian scholars visiting leading centres of anthropology abroad and younger anthropologists studying at major foreign universities also stimulated the recent advances in theory and method. This stimulation found expression in their research endeavours at home. On the whole, there has been an unprecedented spurt of activity, symbolising as it were, "the coming of anthropology" in the country.

The beginning of this analytical phase was marked by the publication of two important monographs. The "Religion and Society among the Coorgs of South India" (1952) by M.N. Srinivas brought a new tradition in Indian Anthropology and reflected the change from descriptive to analytical approach. Iravati Karve's book on "Hindu Kinship System" (1953) again marked the beginning of a turning point in Indian Social Anthropology. Besides, in the same decade T.C. Das, Aiyappan, D.N. Majumdar and a few others were stimulated to take up study of theoretically sophisticated problems in the field of social anthropology.

Moreover, during this period a number of American Anthropologists like Morris Opler (1948, 1950), Oscar Lewis (1951) David Mandelbaum (1949, 1950) and others came to India and created an atmosphere for a new type of research in social anthropology. They tested some hypotheses and developed some methodological approaches originally worked out in

America and elsewhere.

Village studies in India were first of all inaugurated by Morris Opler of Cornell University when he studied the village "Senapur" near Delhi, around 1950-51. His study encouraged Indian anthropologists to undertake village studies. S.C. Dube was the first Indian to study a Telengana village near Hyderabad called *Shamirpeth*. Another American scholar, McKim Marriott studied the village *Kishangarhi* near Aligarh and tested some of the concepts which he had formulated at Chicago in consultation with Robert Redfield and Milton Singer. Marriott was engaged in this study since 1953 and his findings were published in 1955, when he developed the two important concepts of "Universalization" and "Parochialization". Oscar Lewis, another renowned scholar from America, studied a village in U.P. and developed the concept of "Rural Cosmopolitanism". A similar concept of "Unity and Extension of the Indian Village" was developed by Bailey.

Redfield initiated village studies as early as in 1930 in Mexico. Though village studies in India were initiated quite late, in 1955 three main books on Indian villages were published. Their approaches, however, are different. "Indian Village" by S.C. Dube is based on inter-disciplinary approach. Experts from several fields of disciplines of which Dube was the Chief, studied "Shamirpeth" and they confined their scope only to the different aspects of that particular village. The book "Village India" edited by McKim Marriott is an outcome of a seminar held at Chicago in 1954. In this seminar there were three key papers by different anthropologists based on their field works in different parts of India. This book represents a totalitarian approach i.e. holistic analysis of the Indian villages as a dimension of Indian Civilization. The third book "India's villages" is edited by M.N. Srinivas. In this book there are 9 papers by different scholars based on their field investigations, in the different parts of the country. This book brought several thought-provoking views and arguments on the Indian villages. Several important concepts were developed and explained by various scholars in those books which helped in an

understanding of the folk and peasant communities in India as dimensions of Indian Civilization.

In studying a civilization Redfield developed the concepts of "Great and Little Traditions". According to him, with the village as a point of reference, the higher intellectual influences that come from outside the village are termed the Great Tradition and those that come from within the village *i.e.* the local area, are termed the Little Traditions. He also introduced the term "Cultural Specialist" (which includes literati) for such organised groups of people who mediate between the Great and Little traditions. He also introduced Singer's concept of "Cultural media" such as singing, dancing, acting, sanskritic knowledge, technique of dramatic recitation etc., through which cultural specialists communicate to the masses and, thus, establish continuity between the two traditions.

After formulating these terms and concepts, Redfield put forward his explicit definitions of civilization in various ways. Firstly, he defines civilization as a complex structure of Great and Little Traditions (Redfield: 1955). This definition in terms of traditions emphasises culture content together with its historical sources and levels of development. Secondly, with the emphasis on the social structure of traditions, but in terms of the same concepts used above, he defines civilization as an organisation of a special kind of role occupiers in characteristic relation to one another, and to lay people performing characteristic functions concerned with the transmission of tradition. (Redfield 1955:20). Thirdly, with Singer he proposed another definition of civilization in terms of self axis, that is, in terms of a characteristic world view, ethos, temperament, value system, cultural personality etc. (Redfield, 1955A:79). This definition represents the shift of description from products of culture to its psychological characterization. Redfield also writes about civilization as "a great whole in space and in time by virtue of the complexity of organisation which maintains and cultivates its tradition to the many and varied small local societies within it" (1955A: 13-21). These four definitions of civilization can be interpreted and conceived in terms of the

above mentioned conceptions and although distinct in emphasis, they may be complementary ways of conceiving a civilization.

Redfield and Singer further distinguish two types of cultural roles for a city—the orthogenetic and the heterogenetic. Focussing on the role of the city as a creator and carrier of ideas, they suggest that the former is characterized by the “Carrying forward into systematic and reflective dimensions of an old Culture” while the latter is engaged in “the creating of original modes of thought that have authority beyond or in conflict with old cultures and civilizations”. (Redfield and Singer 1956). The intellectual elites play a key role in both types of cities, but whereas in the orthogenetic city they are literati, specialising in the reading and interpretation of sacred texts and transmitters of traditional learning, in the heterogenetic city they are an intelligentsia specialising in the generation of new ideas and looking towards change rather than conservation.

In this context, Redfield and Singer also evolved two hypothetical stages in the acceleration of urbanization—*primary* and *secondary*. In the primary phase of urbanization a pre-civilized folk society is transformed by urbanization into a partially urbanized society and correlated urban centre. It is primary in the sense that it takes place within the framework of the core culture that develops as the local cultures become urbanized and transformed into an indigenous civilization. However, this core culture dominates despite the occasional intrusion of foreign peoples and cultures. When such an encounter is too rapid and intense, an indigenous civilization may be destroyed, leading to secondary urbanization. According to Redfield and Singer, (*ibid*) “the most important cultural consequence of primary urbanization is the transformation of the little tradition into a great tradition. This great tradition then becomes the core culture of an indigenous civilization. A great tradition describes a way of life and as such is a vehicle and standard for those who share it to identify with one another as members of a common civilization”.

Keeping in view that civilization is a complex structure of

Little and Great Traditions, as well as the distinction between orthogenetic and heterogenetic cities, Singer formulated several broad hypotheses concerning the relation of Little and Great Traditions in Indian Civilization. These were:—

- (i) That because India has a *Primary* or *Indigenous* civilization which had been fashioned out of pre-existing folk and regional cultures, its Great Tradition was culturally continuous with the Little traditions to be found in its diverse regions, villages, castes and tribes.
- (ii) That this cultural continuity was product and cause of a common cultural consciousness shared by most Indians and expressed in essential similarities of mental outlook and ethos.
- (iii) That this common cultural consciousness has been formed in India with the help of certain processes and factors that also play an important role in other primary civilizations *i.e.* sacred books and sacred objects as a fixed point of worship, a special class of literates (Brahmins) who have the authority to recite and interpret the sacred scriptures, professional storytellers, a sacred geography of sacred centres—temples, pilgrimage places and shrines—and leading personalities who, by their identification with the Great Tradition and with the masses, mediate the one to the others.
- (iv) That in a primary civilization like India, cultural continuity with the past is so great that even the acceptance of “modernizing” and “progress” ideologies, does not result in linear forms of social and cultural change but may result in the “traditionalizing” of apparently “modern” innovations.

The symposium on “Traditional India: Structure and Change” (1958) was the first interdisciplinary demonstration of the viability and fruitfulness of Redfield’s approach to the study of a civilization as a social organisation of Great and Little Traditions. The variety of studies showed some of the complexities of the approach as well. Such complexity, however, reflects the unity and diversity of India and perhaps any civili-

zation. Strands of unity were also revealed in the symposium—some derived from ancient Great Traditions, some from Little Traditions and some from Modern innovations. The weaving of these many strands into a unified national culture is a highly selective process that creates new traditions and preserves some old ones, in the search for cultural identity that will be both—"Modern" and "Traditional".

The movement of modern nationalism in India, as in most other countries, has always shown a strong interest in recovery or reinterpretation of India's traditional culture. With the achievement of National Independence, this interest has received an official definition. Language, national history, archaeological findings, music, dance and drama have become symbols of modern Indian Identity alongside the national emblem, five year plans, parliamentary institutions and atomic installations.

Any element of traditional culture is a potential trait to become a symbol of national identity. In this selective and creative process, cultural traditions take on a fluidity and self consciousness that reflect constantly changing moods and aspirations and changing conceptions of national identity. They reflect too the fact that a "Civilization is a process of becoming, as well as a state of being" as N.K. Bose has remarked apropos the Modern History of Bengal. However, this is not the way we ordinarily think of traditions. They are usually the things that we take for granted, the unquestioned assumptions and the handed down ways of our ancestors. But it has become a common place of modern history that even the most traditional societies are no longer sure of what it is they can take for granted. Confronted by swift currents of internal and external change, they have been compelled to restate themselves to themselves in order to discover what they have been, and what it is they are to become. Their cultural traditions have become problematic hypothesis and an inquiry into their design becomes worthwhile and meaningful.

In the light of these concepts and theoretical propositions and primarily under the influence of the scholars of Chicago

School of Anthropology, Vidyarthi (1961) studied the sacred city of Gaya located in the ancient cultural zone of Magadh. He developed a set of analytical concepts and descriptive terms to describe a sacred city as a part of Indian civilization. In the light of his empirical study of a dimension of Indian Civilization he suggested, certain modifications in Redfield-Singer's approach and tested certain hypotheses related to such study. His hypotheses concerning this study may be precisely noted in the following sentences:—

- (i) That the sacred complex—the sacred centres, the sacred performances and the sacred geography—of a Hindu place of pilgrimage reflects a level of continuity, compromise and combination between great and little traditions.
- (ii) That the sacred specialists of a place of pilgrimage maintain a distinct style of life and transmit certain elements of the great tradition to the rural population of India by popularising certain texts, by organising pilgrimage and by officiating as the ritual and temple priests.
-
- (iii) That the sacred complex in general and the sacred specialists in particular have been in the process of modification and transformation as a result of general developments in the larger universe of Hindu civilization of which they are a part.

He used several terms such as "Sacred Cluster", "Sacred Segment" and "Sacred Zone" to describe the sacred centres constituting the sacred geography of Gaya, "Local", "Regional" and "Universal" to indicate the scope of some of the elements of the sacred complex and "folk", "Sanskritic", "Feudalistic" and "Proletarian" to describe the nature of priesthood. These terms provide a typology for describing the pattern of a sacred complex. Vidyarthi, however, does not use the word "Sacred" in the sense in which E. Durkheim had used it i.e. sacred as distinguished from profane. He had used sacred as distinct from secular.

was followed by the study of the "Sacred Complex of Janakpur" (1971), a well known place of Hindu Pilgrimage in Nepal, by Makhan Jha, and, thereafter, various sacred centres of India have been studied (Vidyarthi and Jha: 1974).

Several new facts about the sacred geography, sacred specialists and sacred performances and their interactions have been brought to light by several of these later researches specially in the study of Deoghar (Narayan S. 1972), Tirupati and Rameshwaram (Sahay K.N.: 1972), Dwarka and Ayodhya (Upadhyay V.S.: 1972-73) and Bhubaneswar (Mahapatra 1971) which confirm cross-regional applicability of the terms and concepts used in the studies of both Gaya and Janakpur. T.R. Shreshtha had undertaken research work on the sacred complex in Nepal, with special reference to Pashupatinath at Kathmandu but he could not complete that research assignment. In order to attempt a broader frame for describing a centre of Indian Civilisation and to make up the shortcomings of wider coverage in the above studies by one investigator, a group research of "The Sacred Complex of Kashi" was taken up as the microcosm of Indian Civilization, which personifies the totality of Indian cultural tradition. The report has been submitted to the I.C.S.R., (New Delhi) and it is being published very soon (Vidyarthi, Saraswati and Jha: 1978).

The present study of the sacred town of Puri, a well known place of Hindu pilgrimage in Eastern India, also provides an appropriate areas of research for the application and testing of some of the above mentioned concepts related to the sacred and urban complex. Puri forms one of the four great shrines or "Dhamas" of Hinduism, established according to tradition at the instance of the Adi-Shankaracharya, the great teacher and revivalist of philosophic Hinduism, at the four corners of India. Dwarka is situated on the extreme western end of the Kathiawar peninsula, Puri is on the eastern coast, Badrinath in the Himalayas, and Sringeri in Mysore near the southern end of the peninsula. Considering Puri's mythological importance as well as the wider range of pilgrimage, growing township and industrial complex, it was chosen for study with special reference

to its urbanization. However, before discussing in detail the different dimensions of urbanization of this great traditional city, I would like to throw light, in brief, on the great traditions of Puri.

Puri: A Great Traditional City

While studying the history of Puri, we find that there is a consistency in the culture and civilization of Puri. Puri is mentioned in the Puranas as Nilachal, Purushottom Khetra, Sri Khetra etc. The sanctity of the place exists from a prehistoric period where traditions cannot reach. In fact, the sanctity of the place is dated anterior to the growth and rise of Budhism in Puri. However, it must be admitted here that Budhism brought an immense change in the details of worship and religious rites. Hence, since Puri has been a centre of both Hinduism and Budhism, we find here a synthesis of the two. Apart from this, the establishment of the Shankaracharya *Pitha* at Puri by Adi-Shankaracharya around 800 A.D. adds to its diversity.

Another method that can be used to identify the Great Tradition in Puri, is essentially an application of Redfield's suggestion that a Great Tradition is cultivated and transmitted by a class of learned specialists, the literati, who have a definite social structure and organization. This idea is very apt for India in general and Puri in particular where for thousands of years a special learned and priestly class, the Brahmins have had almost a monopoly as teachers and scholars of Hinduism. In Puri one can locate many different kinds of Brahmin literati, temple priests, domestic priests, *pandas*, *gurus* and pandits specialising in vedic learnings and teachings, who have been engaged in transmitting the elements of great tradition to the masses since time immemorial.

Puri also presents a good situation in which to trace the heterogenetic transformation of a great tradition that results from secondary urbanization is an interesting academic exercise. For, the leading professional representatives of that tradition

have been closely associated with the city from its very beginning. However, under the impact of urbanisation and modernisation some of these traditional specialists have developed new pre-occupations and devote less time to the cultivation of sanskrit learning and the performances of the scripturally prescribed ritual observances, for which the Brahmins have had an ancient and professional responsibility.

As such, it is found that nowadays not all Brahmins are literati, some of them have taken up non-traditional occupations. Many of them have joined professional colleges. These and others in the higher professions have been trained outside the town and many have been agents of westernisation and modernization. These findings raise the question whether the Brahmin literati in Puri are changing their social role and giving up their traditional role as cultivators of the Great Tradition and agents of sanskritization to become the agents of westernisation and modernization. However, we find that presently the cultural continuity with the past is so great that these cultural changes are felt by the people but they have not completely broken away the old tradition.

Contemporary residents of Puri visit not only the major and minor temples within the city but also make frequent pilgrimage to other shrine centres. The 1971 census reveals that 98.52 percent of the residents of Puri declared themselves Hindus. This is the highest proportion of Hindus of all the towns of Orissa. However, it cannot be assumed that every Hindu is a representative of the Great Tradition or even an active participant in it or that there is a simple system of Hinduism.

From the above discussion, it is apparent that Puri conforms to Redfield's concept of "Great Traditional City."

Modernization of a Great Traditional City

Cultural change, like any other kind of change, has a temporal dimension which is useful to distinguish into linear and cyclical varieties. Linear types of culture change imply a

specification of a date or approximate date that allows us to fix a "before" and "after" division. Modernization of a cultural tradition is a linear type of change in this sense. It implies that the tradition has been transformed into a form that did not exist before a certain date. For the purpose of studying Puri we have taken the late 19th century as a dividing line between modern and traditional. Puri before the establishment of the Municipality in 1881 is taken as traditional Puri. Not all changes in the modern period however, constitute modernization. Pilgrimage for example, although it has incorporated modern means of transportation, still seems to confirm to its traditional pattern. It is useful, in other words, to consider whether any particular change in tradition is continuous with the structure prevailing before a certain date, or whether the structure has been replaced by a new one. In the former case we might speak of the change as a traditionalizing type, in the latter as a modernizing type. The changes in the pilgrimage pattern have been traditionalizing but the changes in educational system have been modernizing.

Cyclical cultural processes do not require reference to a "before" and "after" dividing line. They are recurrent processes which, of course, take time, but the temporal duration of the process is a cycle that may recur within the traditional or the modern period. Sanskritisation and de-sanskritisation are cyclical processes in this sense. While in general, modernizing changes are likely to be de-sanskritising and traditionalizing changes are to be sanskritising but exceptions may occur. The sanskritisation of the *camars* described by Bernard Cohn is for them a modernizing process, since it has changed their traditions into novel forms. The westernisation of some Brahmins, on the other hand, who approve of alcoholic drinks, non-vegetarian diets and widow remarriage may be both a de-sanskritising and modernizing processes if considered in relation to their previous tradition, but may be traditionalizing if considered in relation to the traditions of lower castes who drink alcohol and eat meat, or even if considered in relation to the earliest vedic traditions, when such customs seem to have been sanctioned for Brahmins.

Whether or not the changes in cultural norms will change the total structure of the tradition will depend on many things, the balance between traditionalizing and modernizing changes, the speed of change, the degree or looseness or flexibility built into the tradition and ultimately the judgement and actions of those considered the "authorities" among the literati. They regard many changes as continuous with their Great Tradition and are incorporating them within a redefined orthodoxy. They regard a few changes a fundamental threats to the tradition and have actively organised resistance and defence against them.

Differences From Other Sacred Places

Puri thus, being both an urbanized traditional city and a place of pilgrimage conforms to Vidyarthi's concept of "Sacred Complex". However, we find that the "Sacred Complex" of Puri differs from the other such places in India in following respects :—

1. It is the only place where Lord Jagannath (Krishna) is worshipped with his sister Subhadra and brother Balram. Usually, Lord Krishna is worshipped with his beloved Radha.
2. The idols are made of wood (Daru) in the Jagannath temple at Puri. Usually the idols are carved on stone.
3. Moreover, the idols are only till the naval, which seem to be an odd feature.
4. Puri is the only place where the Lord is born, brought up, married, falls sick etc., in the same place. All these occasions are celebrated with great pomp and show.
5. Another peculiarity about Puri is the nature of the Prasad. Daily 50-60 quintals of rice and 20-30 quintals of pulses, on an average, besides a whole lot of other curries, and sweets, are cooked in the temple's kitchen by the *Swars* and

Mahaswars (the sacred cook-cum-priests) and this sacred food is offered to Lord Jagannath. This food then not only becomes acceptable to all as directly leaving from the table of the deity but it even sanctifies those who eat them.

6. Lastly, Puri is the only place where caste is thrown to the winds under the aegis of Lord Jagannath. As mentioned earlier the food is cooked by the Swars and Mahaswars, who are Saoras tribesmen. Soara is considered as a low primitive tribe, out side the temple industry but even the highest Brahmins eat the prasad cooked by them, so long they are in the service of the deity.

Hypotheses

The present study of the urbanization of the sacred city, in all its complexities as a place of Hindu pilgrimage, provides an appropriate area of research for the application and testing of some of the above mentioned concepts and hypotheses put forward by Redfield and Singer in general and Vidyarthi and Jha in particular. But these concepts are so broad based and the hypotheses regarding Indian Civilization so comprehensive that, in view of the present problem chosen and the availability of data at hand, I use them only to throw light on one aspect i.e. the change brought by the urbanization of this sacred city.

. My study of Puri is, thus, directed to test the following hypothesis expressed in terms of abstraction and generality :—

1. To know that as a result of general developments in the larger universe of Hindu civilization, in general and the secular and growing urban aspects of the town, in particular, the traditional city is in the process of modification and transformation.

2. To know that education, industrialization, trade and commerce play a key role in the process of urbanization of the great traditional city.

3. To examine that the trend in modernization is a trend

towards urbanization and social mobility at the great traditional city.

Research Methodology and Summary of Chapters

In the study and testing of these hypotheses I have depended mainly on field work at Puri, during the period from December, 1974 to February 1975. In addition to intensive field work, I also consulted literary sources—the scriptures, census reports survey reports, municipal records, other books, journals etc., in order to get some idea about the contemporary situation as related to that in the past, as well as to relate the great traditional elements to texts. The techniques applied for the collection of data were observation, interview, genealogical table, photography etc. Thus in general, though the approach has been largely synchronic, but wherever, possible I have drawn relevant dychronic evidences.

The data, thus, collected through field work and literary sources have been organised into eight chapters.

The first chapter describes the geographical location of the city on the eastern coast of India. In the second chapter the history of Puri through the ages has been recorded. The third chapter deals with the demographic figures and throws light on the changing population pattern. The fourth chapter describes the contemporary housing conditions and other civic amenities in the town. It brings to light the fact that in these respects the town presents many rural traits. The fifth chapter deals with the various sociological dimensions of the town like education, industry, trade and commerce, leisure and recreation, development of tourism etc.

The remaining sixth and seventh chapters are mainly devoted to the study of the shops on the Grand road of the town. These chapters are supplementary to each other and have been broken down for convenient understanding of the situation. Chapter seven describes the articles sold by them, their period of establishment and the age and education of the shop keepers.

This chapter also deals with the caste and regional affiliation of the shop-keepers.

Chapter eight briefly summarizes the findings of the preceding seven chapters and relates them at various levels of abstraction and generality to verify the hypotheses set forth for testing. It brings out the fact that Puri presents a good situation to trace the heterogenetic transformation of a Great Tradition, that results from secondary urbanization.

NOTES

1. For details see Professor Vidyarthi's paper "Urbanization, Industrialization and Social Change in Tribal Bihar", presented at the VIII International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences held at Tokyo, September, 3 to 10, 1968. Also see his books "Cultural Configuration of Ranchi", 1969, and "Impact of Industrialization in India", 1970.
2. For details see Robert J. Braidwood's Book "The Near East and the Foundation of Civilization" 1952. The Neolithic Revolution is evidenced to have begun in 7000 B.C., while Urban revolution in 3000 B.C. and Industrial Revolution in 1770 A.D. with the discovery of Steam Engine.
3. Dr. M. Jha has studied the two Civilizational Regions, Mithila and Mahakoshal, as dimension of Indian Civilization. For details see his D. Litt. thesis submitted to the Ranchi University, 1978.
4. For details see Professor Vidyarthi's book "Rise of Anthropology in India" in two volumes, Concept Publishing Company, New Delhi, 1978.
5. For details see "The Sacred Complex of Kashi" by Prof. L.P. Vidyarthi, Dr. B. N. Saraswati and Dr. M. Jha, the Concept Publishing Company, New Delhi (in Press).

2

Geographical Setting of Puri

Puri town is located centrally in the coastal tract of Orissa. It lies between $19^{\circ}28'N$ latitudes and between $84^{\circ}29'E$ and $86^{\circ}25'E$ longitudes. Its boundaries extend in the north to Satyabadi and Cuttack. The town is divided into two parts.

- (i) Balukhand or the sand tract along the sea coast and
- (ii) the town proper to the south of the Atharanala bridge.

The Balukhand area extends from Chakratirth, on the east and to Swargdwar, on the west. The Government House constructed in 1913 lies midway between the two. The town proper includes the area around the temple. The different portions of the town are known as *Sahis*.

Puri town is bounded on the south by the sea, on the west by the pargana Chabiskud and on the north and the east by pargana Rahang. The Natia river flows on the north. According to the Municipal records consulted in December, 1974 the area of the town is 16 64 sq.km. According to the ancient Sanskrit texts the area of the town was around 5 kms. It lies between the temple of Loknath on the west and Bilweswar on the east and between the sea on the south and Natia river on the north.

Puri town is the fifth largest town in Orissa. It is the

district headquarters, at a distance of about 499 kms. from Howrah and nearly 110 kms. to the south of Cuttack town by road and 93 kms. by railway. The place is the terminus of the branch railway line which runs from Khurda road. Puri is connected by direct rail services with Calcutta (499 kms) in the north and Hyderabad (1,179 kms) in the south. Puri is also connected by rail as well as by an all weather motorable road with Bhubaneswar (62 kms). The state capital is served by daily flights from Calcutta. Puri can also be reached from Calcutta by road.

There are three distinct seasons in Puri—Summer season (from March to June), Rainy season (from July to October) and Winter season (from November to February). The temperature chart of different seasons is given below:—

Winter	Max. 26.7°C	Min. 10.6°C
Summer	Max. 56.1°C	Min. 32.2°C
Rainfall	161.7cm (64.4")	

Puri is one of the most sacred places of pilgrimage in India. The searing steeples of the Jagannath temple dominate the landscape for miles around. Built more than 800 years ago by Ananga Bhim Dev, a king of Orissa, the present temple is of monumental magnitude. But the cult of Jagannath, who is a reincarnation of Vishnu is still older.

Puri's proud sculptural and architectural heritage coupled with its sanctity as Vishnu or Purushottam Khetra since early mediaeval days, attracts thousands of visitors from all corners of the world throughout the year. Sir Andrew wrote that "Utkal Desh" which is believed or fables itself to be so holy a region throughout its entire extent, contains four places of pilgrimage of peculiar sanctity called the Harakhetra (Bhubaneswar) the Vishnu or Purushottam Khetra (Puri), the Arka or Padonakhetra (Konark) and the Vijoyi or Parbati Khetra (Jaipur), within the limits of which will be found nearly all that is curious and interesting in its religious antiquities.

Puri is also famous as a health resort. Visitors from far and near places have found the equable and salubrious climate of Puri agreeable in all respects. The sea here is shallow for about a mile from the beach and a sea bath is very refreshing. To watch the sunrise over the sea, in slow grandeur, in a symphony of colour is a wondrous experience. Long before dawn, flimsy looking boats set out and the catch lies in silver heaps on the beach with brisk bargaining in progress. The fishermen here are called *Nulias* and are crowned with typical conical straw hats.

Puri has several tanks and temples heavy with age and laced with legends. There are also various monastic orders, called *Maths*, with sumptuous establishments and estates. One of these is the Shankaracharya Math, established by the great saint and savant Adi Shankaracharya who visited Puri in the early 9th century A.D. Another one is the Emar Math, which runs the Raghunandan Library, which has one of the finest collection of rare books and palm leaf manuscripts.

Puri forms one of the four great shrines or "Dhams" of Hindus, established according to tradition at the instance of Shankaracharya, the great teacher and revivalist of philosophic Hinduism, at the four corners of India—North, South, West and East. In the north we have the two temples of Kedarnath and Badrinath, the former dedicated to Siva and the latter to Vishnu. In the south we have Rameshwaram which is connected with the worship of Siva as performed by Rama, the reincarnation of Vishnu and the hero of the Ramayana. The shrine of Dwarka in Gujarat in western India is dedicated to Krishna and in the east we have the temple of Jagannath, who is Krishna or Vishnu incarnate. For every pious Hindu a visit to these four shrines is almost obligatory. In this way Puri has helped to strengthen the solidarity of Hindu India. It has become interwoven into the religious life of Hindu India.

The temple of Jagannath is 214 feet high. It is crowned with Vishnu's wheel and flags which catch the eyes of the tourists and pilgrims from a long distance. The architecture of the temple is most impressive. There is a *clarite mono lithic* pillar,

an exquisite piece of carving in front of the eastern gate—the *Aruna stambha*, which was brought from Konark in 1761 A.D. The currents and cross currents of different religious thoughts and the impact of foreign invasions at different times have failed to impede the glory that the deity commanded. The image evidently stood as a great trade mark in the Hindu realm. Looking at the trinity *i.e.* Jagannath, Balabhadra and Subhadra one finds the prominent display of three colours showing Balabhadra in white, Subhadra in yellow and Jagannath in black. There could be no better impressive display of a great ideology of our time namely the peaceful co-existence of the three important races of the world—the Dravidians, Mongolid and Aryans. The conspicuous absence of ears and the existence of the big eyes are also not without any significance. They probably convey a great. “I’m eyes and eyes alone”, as if to tell mankind to “act and no words” so that the Lord can see what man is doing.

The famous *Rath Jatra* (Car Festival) of Lord Jagannath is held every year during June-July. About two lakhs of people congregate on this occasion. They come from every corner of India in their colourful costumes. To witness Ratha Jatra at Puri is to have a glimpse of the entire people of the country, highlighting unity in diversity. Numerous other festivals are also celebrated in Puri at different times of the year.

To sum up in Puri, though there is a dominance of religious cult, but it is so broad in character that it turned out to be the confluence of all religious beliefs of all social standards. It is perhaps this vivaciousness that kept the Jagannath cult alive through ages. Jagannath is a great philosophy, it is a symbol of Love, Truth and Tolerance, and this thought through the passage of time has got smeared with certain taboos and prejudices which need reform.

3

Puri Through The Ages

Puri is mentioned in the Puranas as Nilachala, Purushottama khetra, Shanka khetra, Sri khetra, etc. Puri is the seat of Jagannath—the Lord of the Universe. The sanctity of the place exists from a pre-historic period where traditions cannot reach. Puri has an all India influence. People from all parts of India resort to this place. Puri is considered by some to be the most sacred place in India, even more sacred than Banaras.

The Legends of Jagannath

In the earliest stage of its existence, Puranic as well as the local, tradition has it that Puri was a forest having the Blue hill (Nilachala) in the centre, with all bestowing kalpadruma (tree) at its brow, the sacred fountain of Rohini to the east and on its side an inimitable image of Vishnu in saphire. It was named Nilmadhava. The existence of the image of Nilmadhava was reported to Raja Indradyumma I, a prince of the solar dynasty. He sent out Brahmins in different directions in search for the deity. Vidyapati, the Brahmin who had gone to the east finally discovered the deity. However, it is believed that the deity soon became formless and declared that thereafter it would be known as Jagannath, the Lord of the world. It instructed the king to perform certain sacrifices and then appeared not in the shape of a blue image but in the form of log floating in the sea, It was brought to land and installed with great ceremony in the

enclosure where the sacrifices had been performed. It is identified to be the present site where the great temple now stands.

Buddhism and Jagannath

The second period of the history of Puri dates from the advent of Buddhism in Orissa in the 5th century B.C. to its decline in the 5th century A.D. Buddhism brought an immense change in the details of worship and religious rites. It is believed by many that the present temple is built on the site of an old Buddhist temple where the tooth relic of Gautama Buddha had been preserved.

After a lapse of about 1000 years with the reign of Yayati Kesari, the first king of the Kesari *Vansa* there seems to be revival of Hinduism.

Construction of the Temple of Jagannath

The most important event of Yayati Kesari's rule was the reconstruction of the old temple in 474 A.D. Towards the close of his reign Raja Yayati Kesari began the buildings at Bhubaneswar and died in 520 A.D. The reigns assigned to his two successors Suraj Kesari and Ananta Kesari are of 97 years duration and are distinguished by nothing remarkable. They were succeeded by Lalat Indra Kesari, in 617 A.D. a personage of high repute in the legends of the Bhubaneswar temples. An interesting series of 32-reigns of the Kesari princes follows extending through a period of 455 years. In 1131 A.D. Raja Churang Deo ascended the throne. He held to reigns of Government for 20 years and is believed to have been a skilful magician. He established the records of the Jagannath temple called the "Madala Panji". The memory of his reign and of his singular name is preserved even today in a *Sahi* or Mohalla of the Puri town which is called Churang *Sahi*. His son Gangeswara Deo succeeded him in 1151 A.D. His dominion reached from the Ganges to the Godavari. After too short and unimportant reigns Raja Ananga Bhim Deo, one of the most illustrious of the princes of the Ganga *Vansa* Line ascended the throne in

1174 A.D. He executed a variety of public works and filled the whole khetra of Jagannath with sacred edifices. The great temple was erected by his orders, under the superintendence of *paramhans* Bajpoi, at an expense of about 30 or 40 lakhs. The date of his completion was 1196 A.D. His son Rajeswara Deo reigned for 35 years and was succeeded in 1236 A.D. by Raja Harasingh Deo, surnamed Langora, a prince of great celebrity in the annals of Orissa. It was this Raja who built the famous temple of the sun at Konark in the year 1277 A.D. After Raja Langora Harasingh Deo five other princes named Harsingh and six with the title of Bhanu, whom some describe as a separate family called *Suraj Bansi*, ruled over Orissa till 1451 A.D. Their reigns are for the most part undistinguished by events of importance, but they have left some public works which coupled with other monuments of the Ganga Vansa Rajas, give a favourable impression of the public spirit and magnificence of the race. Amongst these is the bridge at the entrance of Puri, called the Athara Nalah, said to have been built in 1300 A.D. by Raja Kabir Narasingh Deo. The last of the Rajas surnamed Bhanu, being childless, adopted as his son and successor, a youth named Kapila or Kapil Santra, of the Suraj Bansi tribe of Rajputs. The boy became afterwards a prince of great renown under the title of Kapil Indra Deo. His reign is described to have been one continued series of wars, seiges and expeditions. He was succeeded by Raja Purushottam Deo in 1478 A.D. His reign is rendered memorable by the most striking exploit recorded in the annals of Orissa viz. the expedition to and the conquest of Conjevaram, 48 miles on south-west of Madras. Purushottam Deo died after a reign of 25 years and was succeeded by Rudra Deo, in 1503 A.D. The wisdom and learning of this prince soon became the theme and administration of the whole country. This prince died in 1524 A.D. having reigned for 21 years. With him terminated all the glories of Ganga Vansa Dynasty and the royal house of Orissa.

Soon after the death of Raja Partab Rudra in 1524 A.D. the powerful minister Gobinda barbarously murdered 30 princes of the royal house, and waded through blood to the throne. Various individuals succeeded him and in 1550 A.D. the last

independent Raja ascended the throne with the title of Telenga Mukund Deo. The early part of his reign was employed chiefly in constructing monuments of public utility or superstition as temples, tanks, etc. During this time Kala Pahar, the General of the Bengal forces invaded Orissa with an army of Afghan cavalry, defeated and killed the Raja or drove him from the country and finally overthrew the independent sovereignty of Orissa in 1568 A.D. An anarchy of 21 years of duration then ensured, during which the Afghan Mohammedans possessed the whole open country and there was no Raja.

All native writers agree in speaking with horror of the cruel excesses committed by their Afghan conqueror, and the wide destruction of images and temples occasioned by his unrelenting persecution of the Hindu faith. Many demolished idols seen at various temples demonstrate the devastation caused by these invasions. Their conquerors gloried in the destruction of idols, and even made them stepping stones to their mosques.

Gajapatis of the Bhoi Dynasty of Khurda

The earliest raid on record was made by General Hussain Shah of Bengal in 1509 A.D. The next attack was in 1568 A.D. by Kala Pahar. There were other attacks also between 1598 and 1742 A.D.

The Mughals seem to have been actuated by a peculiar rancour and ill will towards Jagannath and lost no opportunity of annoying and disturbing the Hindus in the performance of their devotions at this temple. To say nothing of other fruitful sources of jealousy and animosity, this interference alone was sufficient to produce many bloody encounters between the two, in which success was often doubtful. On the whole, however, the native princes suffered the most severely and gradually sank before the superior energy of the Mughals. This religious warfare was at last set at rest by the institution of the tax on pilgrims. Under such circumstances, religious antipathies, however, strong on the part of the ruling power might have yielded gradually to considerations of self-interest.

The Afghans did not disappear from the field as disturbers of the peace of Cuttack until 1611 A.D. But the greatest of all their calamities overwhelmed the unfortunate Orissans about in 1743 A.D. under the command of Raja Janaji Bhonsla and Mir Habib Ullah. They swept the whole country upto the walls of fort Barabatti at Cuttack, plundering whatever they could lay their hands on without mercy. The same scenes were repeated the year following. Things remained in this miserable state till a fresh treaty was entered into between the Mahrattas and Aliverdi Khan on the conclusion of which Raja Janoji left Orissa.

Temple in the Hands of Mahratta Governors

The first and most energetic of the Mahratta Subadars was Sheo Bhat Santi, who ruled for 8 years from 1163 to 1171 *Amlı*. In this 4th stage of Orissan history there was considerable oppression, mismanagement and suffering displayed by the Mahratta annals.

On the 18th September, 1803 the province was finally conquered by the English armies. The dominion of the Khurda Rajas was not finally extinguished till 1804 when a most unprovoked rising against the newly established English Government drew upon Raja Mukund Deo, the vengeance of the British Power.

Since that period the proud but insignificant representatives of the Maharajas of Orissa have been officially acknowledged only as private landholders.

Puri during the British Rule

The fame of the Lord and His temple was well known to the British authorities long before their conquest of Orissa. Therefore, the Marquis of Wellesley issued a specific direction to Lt. Col. Campbell about the temple : "On your arrival at Jaggar-naut, you will employ every possible precaution to preserve the respect due to the Pagoda, and to the religious prejudices of

the Brahmins and pilgrims. You will furnish the Brahmins with such guards as shall afford perfect security to their persons, rites and ceremonies and to the sanctity of the religious edifices and you will strictly enjoin those under your command to observe your orders on this important subject with the utmost degree of accuracy and vigilance". Wellesley dictated such a policy of religious toleration in order to conciliate the Hindu who constituted almost the entire population of Orissa and thus paved the way for a smooth conquest of the province. This liberal policy remained the key stone of the British management of the temple of Jagannath.

Soon after the occupation of Orissa, George Harcourt and John Melville, the British Commissioners for the affairs of Cuttack allowed the Mahratta officer Shewaji Pandit to continue as before in the office of *Dewal Purcha* who controlled the receipts and disbursements of the temple. At the same time the collector of the southern division, who had his headquarters at Puri was directed to intervene in the management, if necessary for the good of the institution. However, in one respect the immediate policy of the British Government deviated from that of the Mahrattans. The British abolished the pilgrim tax soon after their occupation, on assumption that the said tax was oppressive and unpopular. The Government was prepared to incur expenses necessary for support of the temple in the same manner as it was maintained during the Mahratta Government.

Before long it was realised that some permanent regulation was necessary to administer the affairs of the temple. Accordingly, the regulation 4 of 1806 was passed by the Governor General in council on April 3, 1806 for collection of tax on pilgrims and for maintenance of good order, regularity and tranquility in the interior of the temple and in the town of Puri. The superintendence of the temple, its internal economy, the conduct and management of its affairs and control over the priests and servants of Jagannath were vested in "an assembly of Pandits or learned Brahmins" who were to be guided by the recorded rules of the temple or by established usage. In 1806 James Hunder took charge of the office of the Collector of tax

on pilgrims at Jagannath. He was authorised to incur necessary expenses for the support of the temple in accordance with the practices as prevailed under the Mahratta Government. Towards the end of 1807 George Webb, the collector of Cuttack, suggested to the Board of Revenue that all landed assignment of Jagannath should be brought on the rent roll of the province and the revenue derived from those lands might be paid from the Government treasury for management of the temple. The Board concurred with the views of the collector. They decided that the Government should pay an amount of Rs. 56, 432 and 9 annas for annual expenses of the temple and the temple lands should be brought under direct management of the Government. Thus the Government began to pay the fixed amount annually for management of the temple.

It was not possible on the part of Christian authorities to supervise the details of a Hindu temple for a long time. They desired to withdraw all interference in the internal management of the temple and to entrust the responsibility to somebody on hereditary basis. The choice obviously fell upon the Raja of Khurda, as his ancestors had supervised the affairs of the temple from the days of the Mughal rule in Orissa. In 1803 Mukamda Deo II was the Raja of Khurda when Orissa was occupied by the British. In the following year he rebelled against the British but was defeated and kept in confinement for some time. However, he was released and entrusted with the duties of management of the temple, under a new regulation passed by the Governor General in council on April 28, 1809. This regulation was a comprehensive one which was drafted in the light of 6 years of British association with the temple. It not only changed the pattern of the British management of the temple but also took into consideration various problems connected with the pilgrim tax. The regulation vested the superintendence of the temple and its internal economy, the conduct and management of its affairs and the control over the priests, officers and servants attached to the temple in the Raja of Khurda who was to be guided by the recorded rules of the temple or by ancient and established usage on all occasions. The Raja and his successors were to hold the position so long

as they continued to conduct themselves with integrity and diligence. Except for some minor changes in 1810 this regulation 4 of 1809 remained in force till 1840.

A large number of pilgrims visited the temple through out the year. The principal festivals of Jagannath the Rath Jatra, Chandan Jatra and Snan Jatra generally attracted the maximum number of pilgrims. It was believed that the number of all classes of pilgrims who visited the temple annually was never below 50,000 and at times it went upto 3,00,000. The income from the pilgrim tax formed an important item in the British revenue from Orissa.

However, the pilgrim tax was generally used in the interest of the temple rather than as a source of revenue to the Government. A better road was constructed over the old route from the northern border of Orissa to Puri, particularly for the advantage of the pilgrims. It was completed in 1825. In 1827 several *Sarais* or rest houses were erected at Bhadrak, Akhua Pada, Balasore, Basta and Rajghat. Mango grooves and other trees were planted at various places along the road to afford shade to pilgrims.

The management of a Hindu temple by a Christian Government was obnoxious in the eyes of devout Christians. For the first time Charles Grant, President of the Board of Control in Lord Grey's ministry (1833-34) considered the problems connected with the management of Hindu temples and pilgrim tax in India in a different light. He was convinced that the Government with the best of intentions had allowed its toleration to frutify into active patronage of idolatry, and that the support given by the state might be much relaxed without any breach of existing obligations. Accordingly, on February 20, 1833 the court of Directors gave certain clear and categorical instructions to the Government of India regarding those matters. The most important instructions were :

"First, that the interference of British functionaries in the interior management of native temples, in the customs,

habits, and religious proceedings of their priests and attendants, in the arrangement of their ceremonies, rites and festivals, and generally in the conduct of their interior economy, shall cease. Secondly, that the pilgrim tax shall everywhere be abolished". In spite of such specific instructions the Government slept over the matter for five long years.

Finally, Lord Auckland, the Governor General took prompt action on the matter. On April 20, 1840 an Act (Act 10 of 1840) was passed to abolish the collection of all taxes and fees upon pilgrims resorting to Allahabad, Gaya and Puri. From May 3, 1840 the collection of tax from pilgrims actually ceased in the temple of Jagannath. Thus ended one significant phase in the management of the temple.

The abolition of the pilgrim tax, however, did not serve the British connection with the temple of Jagannath. The Government still paid the fixed amount of Rs. 56,341 and 9 annas to the Raja of Khurda for management of the temple. The temple lands were managed directly by the Government and net proceed from those lands amounted to about Rs. 17,000 per annum. According to the direction of the Court of directors, the Government transferred the management of those lands to the Supdt. of the temple and consequently the donation was reduced to Rs. 36,178 and 12 annas per annum.

Such a big amount of the Government donation from the public treasury for maintenance of the temple provoked the Christian missionaries to raise a hue and cry once again. However, for a long time the problem could not be solved as the authorities failed to arrive at any final decision for withdrawal of payment to the management of the temple. Ultimately in 1856 the Governor General in council decided that in lieu of an annual grant to the temple some lands in the district of Puri, yielding an equal amount of revenue should be handed over to the Raja of Khurda, the Supdt. of the temple. By 1863 the Government donation to the management of the temple finally ceased. Thus, the Christian Government succeeded in dissociat-

ing itself from the "idolatrous worship" in the temple of Jagannath.

Establishment of Puri Municipality

The next important phase started with the establishment of the Puri Municipality in 1881. The opening meeting of the Puri Municipality was held on the 3rd May, 1881. The Government nominated one Chairman, a Vice-Chairman and 9 members who attended this meeting. The town was divided into 4 wards with 2 members of the municipal committee of each ward. Fifteen *mehtars* with one *jamadnr* were allotted to each ward. The 4 wards with their number of holdings in 1881 were as follows :—

Ward No. I

Kundhaibent Sahi (Heera Gauri Sahi)	731
Daitapara Sahi	184
Dandimal Sahi (Grand road)	241

Total	1,156

Ward No. II

Dolmandap Sahi	398
Matimandap Sahi	221
Kalika Devi Sahi	387
Bali Sahi	627

Total	1,633

Ward No. III

Gourbar Sahi	222
Harachandi Sahi	766
Baseli Sahi	416

Total	1,404

Ward No. IV

Churang Sahi	113
Markandeswar Sahi	669
Kumbhar Para	295

Total	1,077

Hence the total holdings in Puri town in 1881 were 5,270.

Previously there were few towns and cities in India, where there was local self government. In some places the local administrations were carried on through the representatives of the rulers. When Lord Ripon first came to India as Viceroy in 1880 he introduced the system of local self government in India in the year 1882. The Bengal Municipality Act came into force on August 1, 1884 published in the Calcutta Gazette of the 7th May, 1884. Accordingly the first elected council came to Puri Municipality from 16th February 1885. Two thirds of the total number of commissioners were elected from amongst the rent payers and one third were nominated by the local government. The tenure of the office of Commissioner was 3 years according to this Act.

Orissa was separated from Bengal in the year 1906. Accordingly, the Bihar and Orissa Municipal Act came into force on January 22, 1922. According to which the number of commissioners shall not be less than ten or more than forty. Two thirds of the total number of commissioners were to be elected and one third to be nominated by the local Government. But the number of commissioners to be elected shall not be less than four fifths of the total number of commissioners.

Orissa was then separated from Bihar in the year 1947. The Orissa Municipality Act was passed by the legislature on 11th November 1950. It came into force on and from the 16th April, 1951 vide notification⁴ No. 3001 LSG dated 16th April 1951. According to this act the total number of Councillors

shall not exceed 30 nor less than 11. All the councillors shall be elected by the people. There shall be reserve seats for members of scheduled tribes and scheduled castes.

But the total number of seats reserved in any Municipality shall not exceed three. The tenure of the office of the councillors was extended to 4 years according to this Act. Presently this Act is in force in the Puri Municipality.

The municipal elections are held every 4 years. The last elections were held in May 1973. One councillor is elected for each ward. However, from Wards 1 and 3, two councillors each are elected from the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes here. As such in all there are 26 elected councillors in the Puri Municipality. Presently there are only 23 councillors and action is being taken for the re-election of councillors in Wards 3 and 1. The present Chairman of the Puri Municipality, Shri Bandev Mishra belongs to the Lok Dal.

Presently there are 732 employees in the Puri Municipality, of which their distribution is as follows :—

Sweepers and Sweeperesses	467
General staff	159
Water Works staff	106

Total	732

HISTORY OF PURI—THE CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF IMPORTANT EVENTS

I. Ancient Period (1000 B.C.—1000 A.D.)

King Indrapyumma (I) started construction of the temple—
926 B.C.

Advent of Buddhism in Puri 5th century B.C.

Reconstruction of temple by Saska Dev (Ashoka the great)
226 B.C.

Tooth relic of Gautama Buddha carried to Ceylon from Puri
311 A.D.

Decline of Buddhism—5th century A.D.

Kesari Vansa (established—473 A.D.)

Reconstruction of temple by Yayati Kesari—474 A.D.

Yayati Kesari died—520 A.D.

Suraj Kesari and Anata Kesari—ruled for 97 years.

Lalat Indra Kesari succeeded—617 A.D.

Construction of Lingaraj temple at Bhubaneswar by Indra Kesari—657 A.D.

Establishment of Shankaracharya Pitha—800 A.D.

Raja Nirupa Kesari planted a city on site of modern Cuttack—989 A.D.

II. Medieval Period (1000 A.D.—1850 A.D.)

Ganga Vansa (ruled country for 4 centuries.)

Churang Deo ascended throne—1131 A.D.¹

Churang Deo established records of temple called *Madala Panji*.

Gangeshwara Deo succeeded—1151 A.D.

Anang Bhim Deo succeeded—1174 A.D.

Reconstruction of temple by Anang Bhim Deo at a cost of 40—50 Lac rupees, under superintendence of his minister Param Hans Banjpoi—1196 A.D.²

Langora Narasingh Deo ascends throne—1236 A.D.

Completion of Konark by him—1277 A.D.

Athra Nalah built by Kabir Narasingh Deo—1300 A.D.

Surya Vansa(1451 A.D.—1587 A.D.)

Kapil Indra Deo assumed Government,—1451 A.D.³

Portab Rudra Deo ascended throne—1503 A.D.

Ismail Khan, General of Hussain Shah, Sultan of Bengal, invaded Orissa—1509 A.D.

Portab Rudra Deo died—1524 A.D.

Telinga Mukund Deo ascended throne—1550 A.D.

Nat Mandir reconstructed by him—1562 A.D.

Orissa captured by Kala Pahar, General of Bengal forces—1568 A.D.

Mukti Mandap reconstructed by Rani Gauri Devi, Rajput princess and Queen of Raja Man Singh—1587 A.D.⁴

Gajapatis of the Bhot Dynasty of Khurda (1568 A.D.—1803 A.D.)

Ramchander Deo ascends throne—1588 A.D.

Orissa formally annexed to Mughal dominions—1592 A.D.

Purushottam Deo succeeded—1609 A.D.

Narsingh Deo succeeded—1630—AD

Repairing and petty reconstruction of temple by him—1634 A.D.

Gangadhar Deo succeeded—1655 A.D.

Mukund Deo succeeded—1664 A.D.

Nil Chakra blown off from summit of temple by heavy cyclone—1684 A.D.

Dirsingh Deo succeeded—1692 A.D.

Rebuilding of Nil Chakra by him—1703 A.D.

Kishen or Harkishen Deo succeeded—1715 A.D.

Repair of temple by him—1716 A.D.

Gopinath Deo succeeded—1720 A.D.

Ramchander Deo succeeded—1727 A.D.

Bir Kishore Deo succeeded—1743 A.D.⁵

Berar Mahrattas under Raghuji Bhonsla and Habib Ullah attacked Orissa—1744 A.D.

Another Mahratta army under Raja Janoji Bhonsla and Mir Habib Ullah invaded Orissa—1755 A.D.

Treaty of peace between Mahrattas and Aliverdi Khan—1754 A.D.

Mahratta Rule (1760 A.D.—1800 A.D.)

Temple fell into hands of Mahratta Governors—1760 A.D.*

Seho Bhat Santia, first and most energetic of the Mahratta Subedars, exercised precarious authority for eight years i.e. 1163—1171 A.M.

Dir Singh Deo succeeded—1786 A.D.

Mukund Deo succeeded—1798 A.D.

Baba Brahmachari Goswami (Mahratta Dynasty) fixed the Arun Stambha—1800 A.D.

British Conquest of Puri—18th September 1803.

Resumption of Pilgrim tax—1809 A.D.

Ceasation of collection of Pilgrim tax—3rd May 1840.

III. Modern Period (1850 A.D. onwards)

Establishment of Puri Municipality—3rd May 1881.

Bengal Municipality Act came into force—1st August 1884.

First Municipal Elections—1885.

Orissa separated from Bengal—1905.

Railways introduced in Puri—1910.

Bihar and Orissa Municipal Act came into force—22nd November 1922.

Construction of water works started—1929.

Water supplied to Public through water supply Department—1935.

Introduction of electricity in Puri town—1940.

Introduction of telephone system in Puri town—1945.

Orissa separated from Bihar—1947.

Orissa Municipality Act passed by legislature—11th Nov. 1950.

Orissa Municipality Act came into force—16th April 1951.

Last Municipal Elections—May 1971.

NOTES

1. The installation ceremony of Churang Deo was performed in 1089 A.D. according to M.M. Ganguly (1912).
2. There are various views about this date. The Orissa Review of June, 1971 gives the date to be 1216 A.D. while according to Pandit, N. Mishra (1929) it is 1178 A.D.
3. 1435 A.D. according to M.M. Ganguly (1912).
4. This date is given as 1578 A.D. in the Orissa Review of June, 1971.
5. According to M.M. Ganguly (1912) Bir Kishore Deo's reign extended from 1736—1779 A.D.
6. This date is given by Pandit N. Mishra (1929). But according to M.M. Ganguly (1912) it is given as 1756 A.D.

4

Population Statistics

Orissa can be divided into two broad natural regions—Coastal division and Inland Division. The coastal division covers the alluvial tract along the sea. The town of Puri is included in this division. The inland division, on the other hand comprises the districts which are partly covered by hills, forests and barren wastes. The coastal division with an area of 25.9% of the states total area, has a population as high as 46.9% of the population of the state. The inland division, however, containing 74.1% of the states area, sustains only 53.1% of its population. Thus, while the coastal division has more men than area, the inland division has more space but less inhabitants.

In Orissa there were 81 towns in 1971 as against 62 towns in 1961. There are four Class I towns (or cities) i.e. the towns with a population of 1 lakh or above in Orissa viz. Cuttack Rourkela, Berhampur and Bhubaneswar, which account for about 30% of the total urban population of the state. There are two towns now in the Class II category (i.e. towns with population ranging from 50,000 to 99,999) viz. Puri and Sambalpur, which together constitute 8 percent of the total urban population of Orissa.

Table I
Population of Puri

Census	1951	1961	1971
Population	50,589	60,815	72,712

Total area of Puri town 16.64 sq. kms.

Table II

Density of Population

<i>Town/ Dist.</i>	<i>Density of population per sq. km. in</i>	
	<i>1961</i>	<i>1971</i>
Puri town	365	436
Puri Dist.	184	230

Table III

Birth and mortality statistics (for Puri town)

<i>Year</i>	<i>1972</i>	<i>1973</i>	<i>1974</i>
Total No. of births	3,013	3,162	3,103
Total No. of deaths	1,742	1,812	1,713

The above table clearly shows the wide variation between the total nos. of births and deaths in Puri town, the latter being only 58% of the former.

According to the computed rates available for Orissa, the birth rate which was around 40 in 1960 dropped to 38.1 in 1970, which is close to the all India rate of 41.7 in 1960 and 39 in 1970. There has been a sharp decline in the death rate in Orissa from 22.9 in 1960 to 16.4 in 1970 which also compares favourably with the all India death rate of 22.8 in 1960 dropping to 15.9 in 1970.

Sex-Ratio

The proportion between males and females in a population is known as sex ratio. In Indian census this means the number of females per 1000 males. In India, on the whole we find that there is an excess of males, which is in sharp contrast to the excess of females in most of the western countries.

The 1971 census has revealed that the sex ratio of India is 930. This is in keeping with the declining trend of female population which has become almost a heritage in our country. Orissa has not been plagued by this problem so far. In fact it is one of the few states which has shown surplus females till 1961 census. In 1971 for the first time the sex ratio fell below the thousand mark to 988.

However, contrary to the state as well as district trends in Puri town we find that the males far outnumber the female population. In fact, the sex ratio in Puri town has gone up from 808 in 1961 to 857 in 1971.

Table IV

<i>Town/Dist./Country</i>	<i>Sex ratio in</i>	
	<i>1961</i>	<i>1971</i>
Puri town	808	857
Puri Dist.	1,004	977
India	941	930

This anomaly can be explained by the fact that Puri being a centre of pilgrimage has also become a business centre in course of time. As such it offers opportunity for employment to people from various walks of life. A large number of men from neighbouring towns and villages have settled in Puri, therefore, to earn their livelihood. Their families, however, continue in their native places. This is probably the reason why the male population largely outnumbers the female population in Puri town.

Literacy

How many can read and write ? or In census parlance, how many are literates ? It is a question as old as census. It is un-

happy to note that India is among the lowest rungs of literacy. Many countries, whose 'backwardness' we take for granted, are way ahead of India in the matter of literacy.

According to the latest estimation, the literacy rate of Orissa is placed at 30.59% and that for the country as a whole at 33.84%. For computing this degree of literacy of a population, infants in the age group of 0—4 years are excluded.

The gross literacy rate of Puri town, to the total population inclusive of children in the 0—4 years age group is 52.15% according to the 1971 census. On the same basis it was 26.18% for Orissa in 1971 and 21.66% in 1961. This means that as late as in 1971 when Americans had already completed sending her 4th manned rocket to the moon, three persons in Orissa and two persons in Puri town, out of every four, were not in a position to even read the news.

Table V
Percentage of Literacy (Based on 1971 census)

<i>Town/ Dist./State</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>
Puri town	52.15	61.23	41.56
Puri Dist.	35.34	49.81	20.54
Orissa	26.18	38.28	13.92

An encouraging conclusion from the above table is that the percentage of literacy in Puri town is much higher than that in both the district and the state as a whole. This can probably be ascribed to the fact that Puri being a religious centre since time immemorial, has a large percentage of educated religious specialists and pandas. Orissa ranks 15th in the literacy rate, as compared to the other states in India. The state of Kerala has the highest literacy rate of 60.42%. The literacy rate of Puri town is quite close to the latter.

The literate males in Puri town, however, far outnumber the literate females. Moreover out of every 10 women in Puri, 6 are still unlettered. This shows that there is still a very large segment of the female population which wallows in the darkness of ignorance.

I am reminded of the words of M. N. Yeatta, Census Commissioner of India in 1941 whose view is perhaps, more typical today than ever before : "A democratic system and a mainly illiterate population go ill together, and in some cases are very nearly a contradiction. So long as a man cannot read for himself, he can form his judgements outside his own field of experience only from what he is told. Hence the enormous power laid in the hands of the leaders, the bulk of whose followers are uninstructed".

Religious Affiliations

Ours is a land of many faiths. Yet we all live in harmony and take pride in the fact that each of us is an Indian. In Puri too we find people of various religions, although the population is overwhelmingly Hindu. However, with the development of the concept of secular state and increasing tolerance for the other man's faith religious beliefs no longer evoke militant loyalties or arouse violent emotions. Yet, we attach importance to religion because many facets of life of a person are influenced by his religious persuasion, though to a lesser extent today than before. The religious population is of interest because it is related to important aspects of demography like marital status, occupation and migration, apart from its influence on the birth and death rate. Religion may also influence literacy rate, educational levels and to some extent economic conditions.

Our country abounds in religions but the most important religions from the point of view of preponderance are six viz. Hinduism, Islam, Christianity, Sikhism, Buddhism and Jainism. The percentage of the followers of these religions to the total population in Puri town are as follows :—

Table VI

<i>Religion</i>	<i>Percentage to total population</i>
Hinduism	98.52
Islam	0.91
Christianity	0.54
Sikhism	0.02
Buddhism	Negligible
Jainism	0.01
Others	Negligible

The pilgrim town of Puri has the highest proportion of Hindus among all the towns in Orissa.

Scheduled Castes and Tribes

The scheduled castes or the scheduled tribes, as the name denotes are the castes or tribes listed in the schedule to the order by the President, under the Constitution of India.

Caste, in India is a social institution which derives sanction from and is inextricably intertwined with the Hindu religion. There were originally four main castes¹ viz. Brahman, Kshetriya, Vaishya and Sudra and the persons belonging to the first three castes were called twice born. "It was only they who were believed to have the right and duty to perform certain ritual ceremonies."² The Sudras, however, were put below the Vaishyas and were mainly menials and servants. They were assigned no rank. All these four castes were Aryan speaking people. With the growth of population from out of these four main castes, emerged hundreds of sub-castes.

The untouchable section of the Sudra caste constitutes a fifth outer group, some times referred to as exterior castes. For ages, these exterior or depressed classes suffered various socio-economic and political disabilities in the hands of the high castes. These exterior or 'depressed' castes are not depressed in all states. The same caste may be depressed in one state but

may not be suffering from any socio-economic or political disability in another.³

The scheduled tribes on the other hand, are a fascinating and colourful people whose origin is wrapped in a shroud of heavy antiquity. Comprising numerous tribal communities some of them still maintain their primitive social customs and rituals. Their remote habitations in deep woods and on high hills, their occupational pursuit of food gathering and hunting in forests, their scant clothing and primitive way of living, their innocence, charm and simplicity and above all their continuous alienation for ages from the social mainstream have woven around them queer myths and legends and weird anecdotes of sorcery, black art and magic. Whatever be their racial origin, these scheduled tribes commonly known as *Adivasi* who constitute a good part of our population, have continued to remain in a state of social, educational and economic backwardness for ages.

Table VII

Town/Dist./State/ Country	Percentage of scheduled castes to total popu- lation in 1971.	Percentage of schedul- ed tribes to total popu- lation in 1971
Puri town	8.69	0.14
Puri Dist.	13.53	3.70
Orissa	15.09	23.11
India	14.60	6.94

From the above table it is apparent that the percentage of both the scheduled castes and the scheduled tribes to the total population in Puri town, is very small as compared to the corresponding figures for the district, state as well as the country.

Occupation of the People

Only about 32 percent of the population of Puri town are

workers; the rest, over two thirds of the population, are non-workers *i.e.* they do not have any economic activity.

The following table gives an idea of the percentage of workers and non-workers.

Table VIII

Percentage of workers and non-workers to Total Population

<i>Town/Dist./State</i>	<i>Workers</i>	<i>Non-workers</i>
Puri town	32.41	67.59
Puri Dist.	19.07	70.93
Orissa	31.22	68.78

From the above table it is evident that although the percentage of workers in Puri town is slightly greater than that of both in Puri district and Orissa as a whole, but it is too little in comparison to the non-workers.

In 1971 census, those, who returned their main activity as workers, were divided into 9 categories according to the type of work they did. The 9 categories are as follows :—

- I Cultivator
- II Agricultural labourer
- III Livestock, forestry, fishing, hunting and plantation, orchards and allied activities
- IV Mining and Quarrying
- V (a) Manufacturing, processing, servicing and repairs, other than household industry
- VI Construction
- VII Trade and commerce
- VIII Transport, storage and communication
- IX Other services.

For the purpose of census, a cultivator is defined as a person who is engaged in cultivation by himself or herself or by super-

vision or direction in his/her capacity as the owner of the land, or a tenant. Although this category claims the largest proportion of workers in our country as well as in Orissa, we find that in Puri town they constitute only 1.21 percent of the total number of workers.

In India as well as in Orissa next to cultivators, the agricultural labourers account for the largest number of workers. However, as in Category I. in Puri town we find that the agricultural labourers form a small minority of only 0.79 percent of the total workers.

In Puri town we find that the percentage of workers belonging to category V (a) i.e. involved in household industries is higher than the corresponding figures for Orissa and Puri district. The percentage of workers in this category to total workers in Puri town is 4.78 while those for Puri district and Orissa are 3.53 and 3.63 respectively.

Excluding the above three categories, the remaining 93 percent of the total workers in Puri town are involved in the other works. A large number of the workers being involved in Category VII and VIII i.e. Trade and Commerce, and Transport storage and communication, which are the largest sectors of our modern economy. Puri town rates pretty high in these fields because of its being a pilgrim centre. Category IX includes people involved in miscellaneous activities like doctors, government officials, teachers, musicians, social workers etc., as well as those working in personal services like domestic servants, barbers, *dhabis*, etc., also come under this category. That is why the proportion of workers in this category too is relatively high, in Puri town.

Ward-wise Population

As mentioned earlier, the municipal town of Puri is divided into 24 wards presently. However, when the municipality was established in 1881 there were only 4 wards. Based on the 1971 census, the ward-wise distribution of the population is as follows :—

Table IX

Ward-wise population of Puri town (1971 census)

<i>Ward No.</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Total</i>
1	1,502	1,330	2,832
2	1,619	1,310	2,929
3	1,751	1,404	3,155
4	1,743	1,619	3,362
5	2,952	2,555	5,507
6	3,139	2,468	5,607
7	2,588	2,050	4,638
8	1,642	1,447	3,089
9	1,370	1,137	2,507
10	1,315	1,150	2,465
11	1,408	1,068	2,476
12	1,343	1,070	2,413
13	1,614	1,433	3,047
14	1,714	1,605	3,319
15	1,445	1,368	2,813
16	1,228	1,019	2,247
17	1,219	1,127	2,346
18	1,172	1,085	2,257
19	1,340	1,154	2,494
20	1,254	1,067	2,321
21	1,389	1,179	2,568
22	1,047	1,014	2,061
23	1,061	942	2,003
24	2,293	1,963	4,256
Total	39,148	33,564	72,712

From the above table it is noticed that nearly 15% of the population is concentrated in wards 5 and 6, while wards 22 and 23 have the least number *i.e.* hardly 5 percent people residing in them. But from the point of view of congestion, ward 2 appears to be the most congested, since the main temple is located in this ward, and hence it is the centre of all activity.

of Puri town. The portion of the Grand road which passes through this ward is very congested, and has a large number of shops on either side. Apart from this a number of *dharamsalas* and the Town Police Station are also located in the part of the Grand road which lies in the ward 2. The Narendra Tank, which is one of the five famous tanks of Puri, is also located in this ward.

On the part of the Grand road which lies in ward 3 are located the Bus stand, the Mahila College and the Daitapara Sahi Municipal market etc. In this ward the congestion is much reduced as compared to ward 2. The District Headquarters Hospital is also situated in this ward.

Ward 5 which has the 2nd highest population of all the wards, owes its importance mainly to the fact that the Railway Station is located in this ward. Apart from this, the Gundichabari, the Boy's Central School and the Infectious Diseases Hospital, are also located in this ward. However, this ward has the largest area of all the wards, hence there is no congestion in this ward.

Ward 6, having the maximum population of all the wards, is a residential centre being one of the oldest parts of the town. The Puri Zilla school established in 1853 is in this ward. Moreover in the part of this ward along the sea shore, are situated the Railway Rest House and the Panth Niwas which are the first two hotels of Puri town. The Gopabandhu Ayurved Hospital and the Convent School are also in this ward.

Probably the reason behind wards 22 and 23 being so thinly populated is that they fall on the outskirts of the town, and, thus, are away from the centres of main activity. It is clear from the above description that the main area of concentration is the Grand road and its vicinity. The southern section of the town on the whole is more thickly populated than the rest of the town.

Conclusion

Thus, the population of Puri town as per 1971 census is 72,712 while the population in 1961 was only 60,815. The

percentage decade variation being 19.72 of the total population in 1971, 39148 are males and 33,564 are females. The sex-ratio i.e. the no. of females per 1000 males, has gone up from 808 in 1961 to 857 in 1971. Thus we find that in Puri the males far outnumber the females. This is an urban characteristic of all large cities According to the latest estimation the gross literacy rate of Puri town is 52.15 percent. This rate compares fairly and favourably with that of the country which is only 33.84 percent. As expected, the literate males in Puri far outnumber the literate females, their respective literacy rates being 61.23 percent and 41.56 percent. The population of the pilgrim town of Puri is overwhelmingly Hindu, so much so that their population stands at 98.52 percent of the total population of the town. The percentage of both scheduled castes and scheduled tribes to the total population in Puri town is very small i.e. 8.69 percent and 0.14 percent respectively. The corresponding figures for the district, state as well as the country are much higher. It is very surprising to note that only about 32 percent of the total population of Puri town are workers the rest over two thirds of the population are non-workers.

Thus, suggesting that the impact of modernization has not been sufficient enough to increase the opportunity of employment. Another interesting feature, in this context, is that the percentage of the people employed in agriculture is very very small, hardly 2% which is contrary to the general pattern of the country. A study of the ward-wise distribution of the people in Puri town reveals that the Grand road and the southern parts of the town are congested i.e. the maximum concentration of the people is to be found between the grand road and the sea shore (which forms the southern extremity of the town).

NOTES

1. For details see Manu's theory of Caste-System. Also see N.K. Dutta's "Origin of Caste in India", and N. Prasad's "Myths of Caste System".
2. Ibid.
3. According to D.N. Majumdar and T.N. Madan—"An Introduction to Social Anthropology".

5

Housing & Other Civic Amenities

Puri has even today many of the undesirable characteristics of a modern town as far as housing conditions and other civic amenities like running water, electricity, lavatory, drainage etc., are concerned. This chapter gives an idea about these conditions in the town.

Housing

Housing is one of the basic needs of life. A roof over the head, is one of the most elementary needs next to two square meals a day and a few clothes to cover one's body. In order to appreciate the problem of housing it is well to find out how many houses are there in Puri town to accommodate its population. Since we live in families it is better to understand the position in terms of families. A family or a household, as it is called in census, is a group of persons commonly living together and taking their food from a common kitchen. The following table is based on the 1971 census.

Table X

Housing Conditions in Puri Town

<i>Town/Dist./State</i>	<i>Total no. of occupied residential houses</i>	<i>No. of households</i>	<i>Average size of household</i>
Puri town	13,563	15,694	4.63
Puri Dist.	3,50,100	4,16,285	5.60
Orissa	38,59,670	41,49,885	5.21

It is thus evident that there are more households than residential houses. Taking the state as a whole nearly 11 households live in about 10 houses on an average. Moreover, from the 1971 census figures we find that the size of a household in the state as a whole, has gone up from 4.81 in 1961 to 5.21 in 1971, a slight but significant increase. This is perhaps an indication that the building activity has not been able to keep pace with the net addition to the population during the past decade.

A holding in the municipal record is a place of land or a building registered in the municipality indicating its owner and the amount payable as municipal tax. As such a holding may be owned privately or by the government. The following table gives an account of the increase of the holdings in the last three years based on the municipal records.

Table XI
Numbers and Types of Holdings

<i>Type of holdings</i>	<i>1971-72</i>	<i>1972-73</i>	<i>1973-74</i>
Private holdings	10,767	10,920	12,042
Govt. holdings	191	291	291
Total nos. of holdings	10,958	11,211	12,333

The above table shows that the private holdings far outnumber the Government ones. Moreover, the increase in the number of holdings between 1972-73 and 1973-74 is much more as compared to that during 1971-72 and 1972-73 since 1,122 holdings were constructed in the former period while the number for the latter period is only 253. However, the numbers of Government holdings, as is evident from the above table have not changed during 1972-73 and 1973-74, though a considerable addition *i.e.* 100 holdings, is noticed in the period 1971-72 and 1972-73. Of the 291 Government holdings, 283 are state government buildings while 8 are Central Government buildings. Moreover, 180 of the Government buildings are used for official and residential purposes, 12 for charitable purposes and 99 for other purposes.

The size and quality of the houses is also an important factor. A house at census is defined as a building or a part of a building having a separate main entrance and used as a separate unit. This definition makes anything with four walls, a roof and an entrance worthy of being called a house. A mansion is a house and a hovel made of bamboo mats for walls and tin sheets beaten out of used kerosene containers for a roof is also a house, provided it is at least 2 metres long, 1.5 metres wide and 2 metres high. Out of the 12,042 private holdings in Puri town (1973-74), 11,202 or 93 percent have, what we may term as *kutcha* walls i.e. walls made out of grass, mud, unburnt bricks, leaves, reeds or bamboo wood etc. Only 840 of the total private holdings i.e. 7 percent are permanent holdings. All the 291 Government holdings, however, have *pucca* buildings.

Table XII
Quality of Holdings (Municipal Records)

<i>Types of holding</i>	<i>Total No. of holdings</i>	<i>Kutcha holding</i>	<i>Permanent holding</i>
Private holdings	12,042	11,202(93%)	840(7%)
Govt. holdings	291	0(0%)	291(100%)

Another interesting factor is that 32 percent of the households in Orissa live in one roomed houses, while 37 percent live in houses having two rooms each. That is to say that 69 percent of the total households do not have more than two rooms to live in.

Facility of Electricity

Only 29.19% of the total number of households in Puri town have electric fittings in their residences while the remaining 70.81% of the total number of households lack the benefits of electricity in this modern era. Thus the majority of the house-

holds are not electrified. Electricity was introduced in Puri town only in 1940. Hence, in 38 years, although, a considerable amount of work has been done, a lot yet remains to be completed. Presently, the total domestic connections are 3601, while the commercial connections number 5674.

So far as street lighting is concerned we find that although some of the main roads are well lighted, the majority of the streets are in complete darkness at night. The lighting arrangements on the sea beach were considerably improved during the *Nabakalevar* (Transfer of Lord's Soul) in 1969.

Table XIII
Total Nos. of Street Lights in Puri Town

Year	Ordinary bulb	Tube light	Kerosene oil lamp
1971-72	874	287	49
1972-73	992	295	66
1973-74	1,050	.	305

The table XIII shows that although the lighting arrangements are pretty poor, the work continues to be done. However, it is complained that work cannot progress much due to shortage of funds.

Water Supply System

This system was introduced in Puri in 1955, though the work of the construction of the pumping stations and the reservoir had been started in 1929. Till 1939 it was under the Bengal and Orissa, Public Health Deptt. Then it was handed over to a joint committee which had 7 members (4 from the municipality and 3 from the Lodging House fund committee) besides the District Magistrate, who was the ex-officio chairman. However, since 4th September 1966 the Water Supply Department has been merged with the Puri Municipality.

Presently there are 22 pumping chambers of which 14 are situated at the Chakra Tirth head water works, 7 at Baliya Panda in Gourvar Sahi and 1 at Pura Kothi near the Governor's house. In the beginning these pumping chambers were worked with diesel, but since 1959 they have started working on electricity. There are two water reservoirs—(i) one at Narkandeswar Sahi with a capacity of 2,20,000 gallons was made in 1935, (ii) second one at Gourvar Sahi with a capacity of 1,00,000 gallons was made later in 1968. A third water reservoir with a capacity of 1,00,000 gallons is presently under construction in Chora Bazar on Station Road. However, the present two reservoirs are not sufficient to meet the needs of the public. In fact, even after the third tower starts functioning it will not suffice. According to the present Chairman of the Puri Municipality, Shri Bamdev Mishra at least 5 towers are required to meet the total needs of the public. But due to shortage of funds this is not possible now. However, the shortage of water is met, to some extent, by the use of hand wells. There are 118 hand tube wells in Puri.

The total amount of water supplied by the municipality daily is 72,46,000 litres, which comes to about 72 litres per individual per day. The municipality supplies water twice daily as follows :—

<i>Supply hours</i>	<i>Summer</i>	<i>Winter</i>
Morning	5 a.m. to 9 a.m.	5.30 a.m. to 9.30 a.m.
Evening	4 p.m. to 7 p.m.	3.00 p.m. to 6.30 p.m.

Table XIV

Number and Types of Water Taps in Puri Town

<i>Types of Water</i>	<i>1971-72</i>		<i>1972-73</i>		<i>1973-74</i>	
	<i>Taps</i>	<i>Total Number</i>	<i>Total Number</i>	<i>Percentage increase</i>	<i>Total Number</i>	<i>Percentage increase</i>
Public Taps	697	699	0.29%	754	7.9%	
Domestic Taps	1,302	1,357	4.2%	1,385	2.1%	

From table XIV it is apparent that only 11.23% of the total number of households are provided with water taps inside their residence, the remaining 88.77% of the total number of households get their water supply from wells, hand tube wells or from public taps. As is evident from the table, although considerable work continues to be done for the construction of both domestic and public taps, it is not keeping pace with the increased requirements of the town.

Lavatories in the Houses

It is very surprising to find that as many as 26.86% of the total number of households have no lavatory. It is here that the rural characteristics of Puri become explicit. These households use the extensive open spaces for lavatory purposes. Out of the remaining 73.14% of the total number of households 70.7% have service latrines and only 2.44% have flush latrines. Moreover, even in the households having a latrine, we find that modern sanitation has not yet caught the fancy of many households in the town. Recently the Puri municipality has constructed 18 public flush latrines.

Table XV

Households Having Provision of Lavatory

<i>Households</i>	<i>Households with</i>		
	<i>Flush latrine</i>	<i>Service latrine</i>	<i>No latrine</i>
Total no. of households	302	7,475	4,556
Percentage to total no. of households	2.44%	70.7%	26.86%

Thus the majority of the households have service latrines. In 1971-72 the state government sponsored a scheme for the conversion of the service latrines into septic latrines, under which the state government would contribute Rs. 600/- towards the conversion of one service latrine per holding into a septic latrine. 86 latrines have been converted so far under this scheme. Moreover, special attention is also being paid for the construction of latrines for the Harijans.

Drainage

Thus, in terms of residence patterns and housing conditions Puri presents many rural traits. In spite of adequate arrangements for drainage in some of the new localities, when one enters the old and congested localities, he observes water logging and insanitary situations caused by inadequate provisions for drainage. Apart from the drainage system, the almost complete absence of sewage disposal facilities adds to the filthiness of the town. This problem becomes very acute during the festive periods like Rath Jatra when pilgrims pour into Puri in very large numbers. The Chairman of the Puri Municipality informed me that he had spent over one lakh rupees lately on repairing the old drains and construction of new ones. However, this is not adequate.

Drainage is likely to present a problem to the city planners of Puri, in the near future. The areas of natural drains and the adjoining low lands are being occupied indiscriminately by new buildings of the migrants. These developments are likely to disturb completely the natural flow of drains. The municipal authorities should give due thought to the sanitary problems of the city and early steps ought to be taken to provide a proper sewage system to Puri. This is all the more important in the case of Puri because it is a centre of pilgrimage and tourism. Hoards of people from far and near visit Puri everyday, and the town should at least present a clean, if not beautiful, appearance.

Streets and Traffic

Table XVI
Types and Length of Roads in Puri Town

<i>Type of road</i>	<i>Length of road</i>	<i>Percentage in total length</i>
Cement concrete road	9.86 km.	5.71%
Black topped road	53.84 km.	31.19%
Metalled road	79.80 km.	46.22%
Morrum road	6.28 km.	3.63%
Kutcha road	22.86 km.	13.25%
Total	172.64 km.	100.00%

In some of the old books Puri is described as the town with 7 *Sahis* and 52 *Maths*. That is to say that Puri town was once upon a time divided into 7 *mohallas* or distinct localities. These 7 *Sahis* were as follows:—

- (1) Harchandi Sahi
- (2) Bali Sahi
- (3) Dolomandap Sahi
- (4) Kundhaibent Sahi
- (5) Markandeswar Sahi
- (6) Chundanga Sahi
- (7) Dandimal Sahi

These *sahis* are present even today but they seem to have lost their importance in course of time to the development of the town. In Puri there are today over 18 *sahis* besides a large number of roads and lanes. Though most of the roads are named according to their situations and locations e.g. Chakra Tirth Road (that is a road leading to Chakra Tirth), water works Office Road, Loknath Road, Narendra Road, Government House Road etc. It is very interesting to note that one of the roads is named "Armstrong Road" named after an American Scientist who landed on Moon in 1969. This shows a trend of interesting modernization. Of all the roads in Puri town, the Bada Deul Sahi or Bada Danda or Grand Road, as it is called today, is the most important, being the centre of all activities of Puri town since the main temple of Lord Jagannath is situated on this road.

From table XVI it is apparent that a lot remains to be done so far as the condition of the roads is concerned. There are a total of 172.64 kms. of roads inside the Puri town. Of this, only 10 kms. are maintained by the PWD, of which 5 kms. is metalled and 5 kms. black topped, the remaining being maintained by the Puri Municipality. Moreover, it is surprising to note that even today 13.25% of the roads are kutcha. The majority of the roads are either metalled or black topped. The Grand Road which is an important thoroughfare is black topped.

As mentioned earlier the street lighting arrangements are quite poor, in the sense that although some of the main roads are pretty well lighted at night, majority of the smaller roads and lanes, mostly in the residential areas, are in complete darkness. Apart from this, in other respects too the maintenance of the streets is quite poor. Very often one sees piles of filth and garbage lying on the roadsides unattended for day on end.

Table XVII

*" Yearwise Statement of Carriages Licensed
(from Municipality)*

	1970-71	1971-72	1972-73	1973-74
Cycle	536	755	1,757	398
Cycle Rickshaw	1,214	1,167	1,243	1,286
Cycle Rickshaw Driver	1,156	1,120	1,198	1,167
Bullock Cart	257	355	359	300
Dog	15	14	6	1

As far as the traffic is concerned it is mostly concentrated on the Grand road, for this is the place where the pilgrims and visitors generally roam around. The majority of the traffic is of pedestrians while cycles, rickshaw pullers and bullock carts are also common sights. Table XVII shows the large number of cycles, rickshaws and rickshaw pullers, who have been licenced during the last four years, is ample proof of this small vehicular traffic in the town. The automobile traffic, though considerable is less than the latter. The parking and traffic regulations are most inadequate, almost nil : thus causing lot of inconvenience to the visitors.

I was informed by some of the people that the traffic problems on the Grand road becomes so acute during the Rath Jatra that all the temporary stalls on either side of the road have to be temporarily demolished. As such, the municipality had

a plan to permanently demolish the above mentioned shops and widen the road. This will improve matters considerably.

Telephones

Telephones were introduced in Puri town only in 1945. At present there are 403 telephone connections in the town.

Conclusion

The foregoing description on housing conditions and other civic amenities leads us to assume that for the present Puri does not exhibit the typical characteristics of a city. A large percentage, almost 95% of the families live in kutcha houses and have no basic civic amenities common to daily urban life. Although the density of population per sq. km. is pretty high, Puri has plenty of extensive open space within the town itself. The housing conditions display many rural characteristics. As far as the other civics amenities are concerned we find that the situation is pretty grave. While most of the holdings in the newly developed localities, mostly near the sea shore, have all the modern amenities, but majority of the houses lack them. 70.81% of the total households lack electric connections, 88.77% of the total households do not have any provision for a lavatory. Moreover, most of these lavatories are service latrines, only 2.44% of the households being provided with flush latrine. The drainage system continues to be conspicuous by its absence. Inspite of new colonization and the growing insanitary conditions, the dependency on natural drainage flowing from upland to lowland continues to be the chief feature. The maintenance of the roads is pretty poor, 13-25% of the roads even today are kutcha roads. The above figures clearly indicate the bad state of affairs and the amount of work that remains to be done in this direction.

6

'Education, Industrialization, Trade & Commerce at Puri'

The various sociological dimensions of the town may be discussed under a number of different headings, however, here we confine our discussion to some of them, which are discussed below.

Education

With subsequent increase in the population of Puri and change in the traditional modes of thought, we find that a number of modern schools and colleges have come up in Puri. Education is one of the most important aspects of modern civilization. In the past few decades as there have been drastic changes in the educational system, it has been considerably revolutionized. The methods of teaching and the courses of study have been completely changed. Inspite of all that has been said in favour of modern education, the two major complaints of the majority of the traditional specialists against the modern schools are that firstly, modern education deprecates the need for memorizing the sacred texts as a means of transmitting the great tradition, and secondly, modern education neglects moral and religious instructions in favour of a secular approach that weakens respect for parents, teachers, gurus and God. Despite such complaints most of the people accept the so

called modern education and are bringing their children up in this way. The sons of the sanskritists are also adopting scientific and technical careers. The panda no longer wants his son to become a panda. The introduction of government supported schools and colleges, and competitive examinations have, thus brought about changes in their values which make it difficult to stop the system of modern education.

Schools in Puri

There are in all about 47 schools in Puri of which 34 are managed by the Puri Municipality and 13 by the State Government.

I. The schools managed by the Puri Municipality are as follows :—

Middle English Schools	5
Upper Primary Schools (Class I—V)	14
Lower Primary Schools (Class 1—III)	13
High Schools	2
	<hr/>
Total	34
	<hr/>

All these schools have co-education except for one high school, which is only for girls.

II. Of the schools managed by the Government, 6 upper primary schools and one lower primary school are managed by the District Inspector of Schools. 5 High Schools and the Utkal Hindi Vidyapitha are managed by a Government appointed Committee. These schools are as follows :—

1. Swarg Dwar Road Upper Primary School.
2. Upper Primary School near Bharat Seva Ashram.
3. Chakratirth Road Upper Primary School.
4. Police Lines Upper Primary School.
5. Utkal Hindi Upper Primary School.
6. Ramchandi Sahi Upper Primary School.

7. Sarda Bali Lower Primary School.
8. Puri Zilla High School.
9. Girl's High School (Ward 10).
10. Barasankha Girl's High School.
11. Biswambar Bidya Pitha (High School).
12. Gadadhar High School.
13. Utakal Hindi Bidyapitha.

Besides these, there is also a Central Boys School and a Convent School. Moreover, there are two government aided schools only for girls, which offer condensed courses specially for married ladies as mentioned below :

- (i) Nilachal Nari Siksha Ashram (Ward 10)
- (ii) Vidyavati Ashram—Girl's High School (Ward 23)

The schooling facilities in Puri seem to be quite encouraging and are indicative of the fact that the people have taken to education by and large. The Puri Zilla School, however, is the oldest school in Puri which was established in 1853.

Colleges in Puri

Besides the large number of schools in Puri, there are also 4 colleges which offer facilities to the local people for higher education.

1. S. C. S. College (Ward 6)
2. Mahila College (Ward 3)
3. Sadashiv Sanskrit College (Ward 11)
4. Gopabandhu Ayurvedic Mahavidyalaya (Ward 6).

The Sawanta Chandra Sekhar College was established in 1944. From the above it is significant to note that there is a Sanskrit College and a Mahila College in Puri. Hence in Puri we find a mixture of traditional and modern modes of thought. The presence of the Mahila College is indicative of the change in the attitude towards the education of women. This college was established in 1961. Though even today the percentage of literacy among the females in Puri is very low, only

20.54%. It is encouraging to note that the attitudes of the people are gradually changing.

Hospitals

There are following five hospitals in Puri town,

1. Government Head Quarters Hospital.
2. Municipal Dispensary.
3. Kamla Devi Mantri Maternity Home—(managed by the State Government).
4. T. E. Hospital.
5. Swarg Dwar Charitable Dispensary.
6. Infectional Disease Hospital.

In addition to these schools, colleges and hospitals of different types, there, are various Banks in Puri, which are listed below alongwith their year of establishment.

Banks

<i>Name of the Bank</i>	<i>Year of the establishment</i>
1. State Bank of India	1955
2. Central Bank	1970
3. United Commercial Bank	1968
4. United Bank	1967
5. Indian Bank	1974
6. Puri Urban Co-operative Bank	1945
7. Puri Nimapara Co-operative Bank	1956

The first bank in Puri town was established only in 1945. Some of the banks are located on the Grand road while the others are located near the sea shore in the vicinity of the Municipality office, Main Post Office, Court etc.

Leisure and Recreation

We usually use the term leisure to refer to the time when a person is away from work and home obligations, and during which he is not eating or sleeping. The form of activities

pursued during leisure time is recreation. Recreation is any form of activity which a person engages in solely because he wishes to do so for his own enjoyment. In it he feels a sense of freedom and self expression.

Just as the working and living conditions of the people of Puri are rapidly changing due to the growth of the urban way of life, the way people experience recreation and spend their leisure time, have also been greatly changed. The traditional leisure time activities of the people which are appropriate for rural village life now fail to meet the need of the people living under conditions imposed by urbanism. The pattern of traditional recreational activities characterised by simplicity and spontaneity, usually at the *Akhra* where physical feats, story telling, riddle solving, gossip, activities associated with religion and festivals are still in vogue at Puri. There are even today seven *Akhras* in Puri town, one in each of the seven famous *Sahis*, though they are gradually dwindling away. In the present times, besides these *Akhras* a number of other urbanized leisure time activities have come up. Recreational activities are many and varied in city life. However, the forms of recreational activities found in Puri may fall under the following major categories.

- (i) *Play and games* : In this category all plays and games, which are either observed or watched by the people, are included.
- (ii) *Off time sociability* : Such as visiting friends and gossiping.
- (iii) *Private pleasure of hobbyists* : This includes reading, music, walking, relaxing, library going, gymnasium activities, religious activities etc.
- (iv) *Sea bathing* : This is a special attraction in Puri town.
- (v) *Public pleasure* : Various activities like attending music societies, dance, drama, games, clubs, *Akhras* and even gambling may be included in this category.

(vi) *Commercial Recreation* : The most common recreations under this category are the motion picture and the radio listening, attending theatres and other cultural shows, which provide recreation on a commercial basis.

Considering the facilities for outdoor recreation Puri has sufficient open space. Puri is fortunate in having a beautiful sea shore, one of the best in India. The sea is shallow for about a mile from the beach and a sea bath is really refreshing. To watch the sunrise over the sea, in slow grandour, in a symphony of colour, is a wondrous experience. The fishermen here are called *Nulias* and are crowned with typical conical straw hats. People who are not good swimmers can hire these *Nulias* for a nominal sum and brave the surf with their help. Apart from pleasure purposes, many pilgrims also come for *Samudra Snan* for religious purposes. However, the bathing facilities on the sea shore are very poor, almost nil.

Boating facilities are also not available, and if at all one can persuade the fishermen or *Nulias* for a ride in their boat, it is not at all safe. This aspect too should be developed, since the scenic beauty of the shore provides ample impetus for it to be developed as a boating centre.

One step, towards the development of the sea-shore for tourism purposes, was taken in 1973, when the state government launched a scheme for the construction of a Marine Drive from Konark to Puri, a stretch of about 25 miles. In fact, 4 miles of the road had also been constructed from Konark side, at an initial cost of three lakh rupees. However, due to the shortage of funds this scheme had to be finally abandoned.

Puri also offers some beautiful places of religious and scenic importance in its vicinity, which are worth visiting. The famous sun temple at Konark, also known as the Black Pagoda, is situated at a distance of 40 kms., towards the east of Puri town. The famous Buddhist stupa at Dhaulgiri is also close to Puri on way to Bhubaneswar, the state capital. Moreover, Udaigiri

and Khandgiri, the twin hills, which contain excavated caves utilized for Jain monastic retreats datable from 100 B.C. to the earliest years of the Christian era, are also worth visiting. In addition to these, Sakshi Gopal, 14 kms., from Puri, and the Chilka Lake, 35 kms., from Puri are also visited by many visitors because they are famous for scenic beauty. Thus, Puri is not only a religious centre, but it is also gifted with many places of scenic and historical importance in its vicinity. These places can be further developed and travelling facilities to these places from Puri, for the visitors should be further improved.

As far as the playgrounds and other such facilities within the town are concerned, the picture is not very bright. Though there are several playgrounds for children and adults, the space provided for such facilities is rather poor. Some educational institutions like the Puri Zilla School, S. C. S. College etc., have their own playgrounds which are used extensively for football, hockey and cricket matches. Besides these small open spaces between groups of houses are also used for playgrounds. On the whole, playgrounds for children are very meagre in the city. The Puri Municipality put up a small Municipal park at Mochi Sahi in Ward 11 in 1938. In the absence of suitable children parks in all the localities, children have to play on the neighbouring roads, on the open strips of lawn in front of the houses and on school playgrounds.

In the vicinity of the sea-shore, the State Government aided the construction of the Orissa *Jatiya Byayam Krira Parishad* in 1953. It is a centre of physical feats now.

Commercial recreation is operated for profit and provides recreation for the masses. There has been a considerable growth of such commercial entertainments in Puri during the course of last few years. At present they play an effective role in the leisure time activities of the people. Of all the commercial entertaining activities, cinema halls lead in popularity. It reflects, perhaps more than any activity, the interests and tastes of the people. Being a comparatively cheap type of entertainment, it offers wide range of spectacle suiting the taste of the

public. It has become part of the general cultural pattern of the masses. Puri has three cinema halls to cater to the needs of the masses, these are:—

- (1) Laxmi cinema hall—started in 1935.
- (2) Srikrishna cinema hall—started in 1948.
- (3) Janta cinema hall—started only in 1961.

In Puri we find that daily only two shows are screened (evening show from 6-9 p.m. and night show from 9-12 p.m.) except on Saturdays and Sundays when the matinee show from 3-6 p.m. is also screened. This shows that the cinema halls do not have sufficient audience and hence do not find the necessity of screening matinee shows on other week days. Usually these picture houses screen recent Hindi pictures, although at times both Oriya and Telugu pictures are also screened depending upon the availability of the films and demand of the patrons.

Besides these picture halls another centre of commercial recreation is the Annapurna Theatre which was started in 1933. This theatre occasionally stages plays, mostly by the local talents.

Radio listening is another favourite pastime of the people of Puri, as in all the other towns and cities. Although there is no Radio Station in Puri, the nearest Radio Station at Cuttack, is pretty close, only 93 kms., and, hence, serves the purpose pretty well. Moreover, Calcutta can also be tuned in without any difficulty. Most of the listeners prefer to listen to film songs.

Development of Tourism

The visitors to Puri may be broadly divided into two sections—(a) Pilgrims and (b) Tourists. The second category again may be classified as home tourists and foreign tourists. Of course, such a classification is very broad in as much as a visitor may be a pilgrim and a tourist as well. The foreign tourists may be taken to constitute a special section of visitors.

Of the foreign tourists, a modern trend which is being noticed all over the world is the presence of a large number of *Hippies*. Puri is no exception and here too we find a large number of filthily clad, young European men and women roaming around or relaxing on the sea-shore or tasting Indian foods at the less expensive road-side hotels.

The influx of both pilgrims and tourists to Puri has been considerably accelerated in the post-independence period, owing to transportational and credit facilities in the rural and urban parts of India. Though accurate figures are not available, a rough estimate indicates 25% increase in the number of visitors coming to Puri in the last two decades. However, in view of the price index such increase has not improved the lot of the priests.

Accommodation of the pilgrims, tourists and others coming to Puri, is one of the important amenities required by them. Previously only a few *Dharamsalas* and lodging houses were there, besides the *Pantha Niwas* and the S.E. Railway Hotel.

However, in course of time new lodging houses and a good number of hotels have come up. There are at present 74 lodging houses under the Lodging House Committee chaired by the District Magistrate. In Puri we find hotels to suit all tastes and pockets, ranging from those with sophisticated elegance by the sea-side with excellent international cuisine to simple tourist lodgings with spicy Indian food at moderate charges. However, most of the pilgrims who stay in the lodging houses generally depend on the temple *mahaprasad* for their food.

Besides the increase in the number of lodging houses and hotels in Puri, various steps have been taken by the State Government for the development of tourism in Puri. A coffee stall was constructed by the Puri Municipality on the sea-shore in 1973. Again, the lighting on the sea-shore was considerably improved during the *Nubakalevar* in 1969. Moreover, as mentioned earlier in 1971 the State Government sponsored a

scheme for the construction of a Marine Drive from Konark to Puri, though finally the scheme has been abandoned. A lot remains to be done in this direction. The sea-shore at Puri is ideal for bathing purposes, but the bathing facilities are most inadequate, almost nil.

A long standing religious convention does not, even today, allow the foreigners inside the temple premises. All the foreigners always question in a very cynical way that if Hinduism is so vast and wide, and Jagannath means the master of the Universe, then how is it that western countries are beyond the Universe. The worst part of it all is that if some unknowing foreigners want to enter the temple of Jagannath, they are misbehaved with by the guides, and there have been cases where this has led to bloodshed, personal disputes and individual differences.

The question of the foreigners entering into the temple of Lord Jagannath is not only a problem for the people of Puri, but it is a thought provoking question for all Indians. In December 1974, a religious conference was held in Puri where many great people of different faiths had come to deliver talks on different religious faiths and problems. The present Puri Shankaracharya of the Adi Shankaracharya Math presided over the conference. Inspite of prolonged discussion, no decision could be made whether foreigners should or should not be allowed inside the temple premises. The ex-Chief Minister of Orissa, Shri Biswanath Das once took an oath that unless foreigners are permitted inside the temple, he himself would not enter the temple. Even today, whenever he visits Puri he does not enter the temple in protest.

Although they are not allowed inside the temple premises the foreigners can have a wonderful view of the temple and the town from the roof-terrace of the Raghunandan Library, opposite the temple. This library was established in 1929 and belongs to the Emar Math. It was very rich in some of the ancient books on Orissa in general and Puri in particular. This

library also finds a place in the Bulletin of the Press publication division of the Orissa Government.

Fish Exporting Factories

The most sorrowful thing of the Lion's Gate i.e. the main entrance to the Jagannath temple on the eastern side, is that there is no trained guide here to explain things to the foreigners, and those, who are present, do not know much of the real details. Foreigners coming from different parts of the world are disgusted with the futile behaviour of the guides who pretend to know everything. Another problem in this regard is the language difficulty. There was a proposal to set up a school for training guides. once this is done it will help to solve many of the problems in this connection.

Another trend in modernization in Puri town is the coming of fish exporting factories since 1972. These factories have been started here on the model of fish factories of Cochin. Fish caught and processed at Puri is exported mainly to America and Japan. There are three such factories at Puri:—

1. T. Thomas and Co.—located near Athara Nala. It was started in 1972 but had to be closed because of heavy losses at the initial stage. However, in 1974 it was taken over by the Indian National Tobacco Co. and is functioning presently.

2. Amardeep Gupta and Sons—located in Balighat (Ward V). This was also started in 1972. It has, however, been closed since 1974.

3. Orissa Cifoods seems to be the most profitable of all the fish factories in Puri. It is located on the water works road and belongs to Shyam Sunder Choudhury. This factory was started in January 1973. The owner has two more such factories—one at Paradip which was started in 1969 and another at Balugaon which was started only in 1974.

According to the owner of Orissa Cifoods Shri S.S. Choudhury, there are 120 workers in his factory. He buys

fresh fish directly from the local fishermen, also called Nulias in Puri, on a large scale. From October to January the fish is more abundant in the sea. While during March to July the catch is greater from the Chilka Lake. This fish is then thoroughly processed in the factory using all the modern scientific methods. The processed fish is then packed into containers and sent to Calcutta by refrigerator vans. From Calcutta it is sent by ship to New York and Yokohama. The informant feels that there is a greater demand of this fish in Japan. The rate depends upon the foreign market because he has competitors from Indonesia, China, Pakistan, Bangladesh, North and South Korea, Philippines etc., who also export fish in large quantities. In 1973, the annual sale from Orissa Cifoods was of the order of Rs. 64 lakhs while the corresponding figure for 1974 was Rs. 94 lakhs. In the month of January 1975 itself, when we were already camping at Puri, the total sale was reported to be around 12 lakhs. Thus fish exporting seems to be a good coming up industry in Puri. In India fish is also exported to from Cochin, Bombay and other sea ports to different parts of the world.

Conclusion

From the above discussion it is apparent that the impact of urbanization has brought about manifold changes in the life, values and attitudes of the people. However, it is felt that while the younger and educated people have ordinarily accepted the challenge of urbanization, the older, uneducated generation specially the womenfolk still seem to maintain a strong link between the traditional and rural style of life. With gradual increase in the population of Puri and change in the traditional modes of thought, a number of schools and colleges have come up in Puri. There are at present 37 schools and 4 colleges in Puri. Of the colleges, it is significant to note that one is a Mahila College and another a Sanskrit College. Inspite of all that is said against modern education, the majority of the people have accepted it and are bringing up their children in this way. There are six hospitals and dispensaries in Puri which look after the health of the people. The commercial activities in the town

are vested in 7 Banks. The Puri Urban Cooperative Bank was the first bank in Puri being established in 1945. The recreational facilities in Puri are inadequate. The lack of sufficient play grounds, children corners and parks is strongly felt. Since there is ample open space in Puri, their establishment should not be much of a problem. Moreover, there is lot of scope in Puri to further develop the sea shore and other gifts of nature. The traditional *Akhras*, however, should be maintained and the urbanized pandas and other sacred specialists should also be encouraged to continue their traditional forms of recreation. Due to the sharp increase in the number of pilgrims and tourists visiting Puri, we find a corresponding increase in the numbers of hotels and other lodging houses. There are at present 74 lodging houses under the Lodging House Committee, which is chaired by the District Magistrate. There are hotels to suit all tastes and pockets in Puri. Besides this, some other steps have also been taken by the State Government for the acceleration of tourism in Puri. However, the greatest drawback for the foreigners visiting Puri, is that they are even today not allowed inside the temple premises. This is a highly debatable question. The foreigners can however, have a view of both the temple and the town from the roof terrace of the Raghunandan Library, opposite the temple, which is the oldest library in Puri. Another thing which is conspicuous by its absence, is the presence of trained guides, fluent in English at least, who may be in a position to give correct and logical explanations to the various queries of the tourists, besides acquainting them with the important places within, and facts about the town. In the last 3-4 years three fish exporting factories have come up in Puri town. A study of these factories reveals that there is sufficient scope for the further development of this industry which will result in the earning of more foreign exchange to the country.

Types and Location of Shops

Right from the prehistoric period man has not been self sufficient in all respects. He has had to depend upon his clansmen, tribesmen or others to even satisfy all his basic needs. Man lives on exchange. Right from the primitive times the system of exchange has been prevalent. The earliest form of exchange was called *barter*, i.e. exchange of goods. Gradually developed the concept of money as a medium of exchange. However, the earlier forms of money were very different from what they are today. When money came to be accepted on a large scale, shops developed, since they provided a regular place of exchange.

Today, we find that shops spring up in no time in any place inhabited by people. The presence of shops in a place is indicative of the fact that it is lived in by many people occupied in varied occupations. In fact, the greater the population of a place the larger will be the number of shops there. The variety of the articles sold naturally depend on their demand.

Puri is no exception and here too we find that a large number of shops of all types have come up in all corners of the town. There are in all over 1800 shops in Puri as recorded in the Municipality. However, the number will be much more if we take into consideration the large number of roadside vendors

and other unauthorised shops. The shops in Puri, besides catering to the needs of the residents of Puri town, also look after the needs of the pilgrims and other tourists who visit Puri in large numbers everyday, much more so on festive occasions like the Rath Jatra. During the festive periods we find that there is a further increase in the number of shops.

Thus, it may be said that the secular *khetra* of Puri for all practical purposes constitutes a *khetra* of cultural heterogeneity. In other words the secular *khetra* may be said a place "where local cultures are disintegrated and new intergrations of mind and society are developed men are concerned with 'rational' organization of production of goods with experiential relations between buyer and seller, ruler and native and foreigner (Redfield & Singer 1956 : 161-94).

Grand Road

In Puri town there is wide thoroughfare known on the Badadanda or Grand Road, extending from in front of the Lion's Gate of the Jagannath temple to the Gundichabari. It is on this road that the Rath of Lord Jagannath travels during the Rath Jatra. It is believed that this road was very narrow, uneven and muddy and caused much inconvenience to the pilgrims, specially during the monsoons and the Rath Jatra. In 1813 Lord Hastings sent Sir Grierson to see the Rath Jatra at Puri. He was very moved by the sad plight of the pilgrims and it was at his instance that the road was further widened and improved. At present the road is metalled. On the Grand Road are situated the Raja's Palace, the Bus Stand, the Town Police Station, the Janta Cinema Hall, the Daltapara Sahi Municipal Market, the Mahila College, the District Headquarters Hospital, a number of *dharamsala* etc. According to the municipal figures there are in all about 1800 shops in Puri town of which about 1000 i.e. almost 60 percent, are situated on the Grand Road. Temporary stalls fringe both sides of the Grand Road, while outer to them are the permanent shops. There seems to be a perpetual fair going on there for pilgrims pour into Puri in an endless stream throughout the year. The Grand

Road is, thus, the centre of all activities of Puri town and that is why it was taken as the unit of study for present purpose. It was felt that a study, in detail, of the Grand Road would help in understanding, to some extent at least, the town in the totality.

Typology of Shops Based on Location

There are in all over 1800 shops in Puri town. Depending upon their location and main areas of concentration they may be divided as follows :

- (i) Shops on Grand Road
- (ii) Municipal Markets
- (iii) Shops in other areas and
- (iv) Inside the Jagannath temple.

I. Shops on Grand Road

On either side of the Grand road have sprung up three rows of various kinds of shops. As mentioned earlier 60 percent of the total shops in Puri town are located on the Grand road. A large variety of articles are sold here at modest prices. On either side of the Grand road are situated 2 rows of temporary stalls while outer to them are the permanent shops. The temporary stalls in a part of the Grand road and close to the Jagannath temple, deal only in readymade garments and, hence, this part of the Grand road is locally known as the "Luga Patti" while there is a corresponding "Basan Patti" on the opposite side where burnished brass and metal ware and other such utensils are sold. Another noticeable fact is that the greatest concentration of the shops is in the vicinity of the temple, while as one moves away from the main temple, their concentration decreases tremendously.

II. Municipal Markets

There are also two municipal markets in Puri town :

1. Daitapara Sahi Municipal Market.
2. Chudanga Sahi Municipal Market.

The Daitapara Sahi Municipal market is located on the Grand road opposite the Bus Stand, while the Chudanga Sahi Municipal Market lies in the vicinity of the sea-shore.

In the Daitapara Sahi market there are 89 permanent shops. It also has separate meat and vegetable stalls inside the market. This market is frequently visited by the residents of Puri as well as sometimes by the outside visitors. In the Chudanga Sahi market, however, there are 52 permanent shops. This market, always has a deserted look and most of the shops do not even seem to be occupied. They remain locked up most of the time though they have been rented out by the municipality. Though we visited this market a number of times we found that only 4 shops remained open and conducted some sort of business. It was revealed that hardly 8% of the total number of shops in the market were even opened daily.

On the whole it was felt that the municipal markets have not proved to be much of a success. The popularity of the Daitapara Sahi market can be attributed to the fact that it is situated on the Grand road and, as such, is easily accessible to the residents and outside visitors. The Chudanga Sahi market, being located slightly out of way, is not very popular.

III. Shops in other Areas of the town

Apart from the above mentioned shops on the Grand road and the municipal markets, we find that various types of shops are scattered throughout the town. Many shops are found on the *Swarg Dwar* road. Here we find that the shops are located near the sacred centres like temples and *Maths* etc. Again in the vicinity of the sea-shore, towards the western side have sprung up a number of shops to cater to the needs of the tourists mainly. These shops are mostly dealing in Orissan Handicrafts or they are Photo Emporiums. Moreover, in Mochi Sahi, another locality close to the sea shore, there are also many shops. As the name of the locality indicates, one speciality about it is that here we find a number of shops belonging to

c cobblers and leather workers. The animal skins are fashioned into beautiful shoes, slippers and even purses and hand bags. This is the only place in Puri where such shops are found. The State Government owned "Orissa Handicrafts" is also located here. Besides these main areas where there are a considerable number of shops we find that tea stalls, roadside hotels, vegetable and grocery stalls have come up throughout the town to cater to the day to day needs of the local people.

IV. Shops inside the Temple

Apart from these shops outside the temple and in its vicinity we find that there are a number of shops scattered inside the temple too.

In the north-eastern corner of the temple close to the *Snan Mandap*, there is a separate market called *Anand Bazar*,¹ where there are about 50 permanent shops, besides a large number of temporary stalls. All the permanent shops, however, do not remain open throughout the year, some of them opening only when there is a heavy rush of pilgrims. They mostly deal in "*Chhapan Bhog*". The temporary stalls deal in "*Anna Prasad*" which is a peculiarity of Puri. The number of temporary stalls varies from day to day depending upon the rush of the pilgrims.

Besides these shops in the Anand Bazar, there are about 25 and odd temporary stalls scattered in the temple selling *ghee batis*, flowers etc. The number of these shops too is not fixed, their number being considerably increased on festive days when the number of pilgrims visiting the temple is much more than that on other days.

Typology of shops surveyed

All the shops on the Grand road including the Daitapara Sahi Municipal market and the shops inside the temple were included in the initial survey. These shops may be classified as follows :

Table XVIII
Table showing Typology of Shops surveyed

Type	Number	Percentage to total no. of shops surveyed
Planned shops	156	15.6%
Modern shops	224	22.3%
Cabin shops	456	45.5%
Municipal market	89	8.9%
Inside the temple	77	7.7%
Total	1,002	100.00%

For all practical purposes there is no difference between planned and modern shops. However, the difference mainly lies in the fact that the modern shops mainly belong to the Raja of Puri or to the various *Maths*, and are rented out by them to the various shopkeepers who have to pay a fixed monthly rent to them, besides paying the municipal tax. The planned shops on the other hand, belong to the municipality and have been directly rented out by the latter. The cabin shops are the temporary shed like structures, with slanting tin roofs, which fringe the Grand road on either side, inner to the permanent shops. The shops of the Daitapara Sahi municipal market may be taken to constitute a separate category, as has been described earlier. All these shops are permanent shops. The shops inside the temple have also been described earlier, and the shops are of two types the permanent shops in the Anand Bazar and the temporary stalls which are scattered throughout the temple.

Cabin Shops

From the above table it is apparent that majority of the shops are the cabin shops. They constitute as much as 45.5 percent of all the shops surveyed. These shops have come up in the last 15-20 years. Near the temple, we find that there are two rows of these cabin shops on either side of the Grand road,

while as we move away from the temple their concentration decreases considerably. Gradually they form only one row on either side of the main road and finally near the Gundichabari one or two cabin shops are separated by large distances. Consequently, we find a wide variation in the rents charged by the municipality. For the municipal purposes there are two sizes of the cabins 10'X6' and 5'X6'. The highest rent of the cabins is of those in the *Luga Patti* and *Besan Patti* and it decreases considerably as one moves towards Gundichabari. Table XIX given below shows the wide variation in the cabin rents :

Table XIX

Size of cabin	Monthly Rent in			
	<i>Luga Patti/</i> <i>Basan Patti</i>	<i>Raja's</i> <i>residence</i>	<i>Marichi-</i> <i>kote Cr.</i>	<i>Market Cr.</i> <i>to Gundic-</i> <i>chabari.</i>
10'X6'	Rs. 50/-	Rs. 34/-	Rs. 24/-	Rs. 20/-
5'X6'	Rs. 25/-	Rs. 17/-	Rs. 12/-	Rs. 10/-

Thus, the rent of a cabin located in between the municipal market crossing and the Gundichabari is less than half, only 40 percent of a similar cabin located in Luge Patti or Basan Patti. The reason behind this vast difference is quite simple. The temple is visited by all the outside visitors to Puri town as well as by most of the residents. Thus the shops nearest to the temple tend to be frequented by the prospective buyers, as such chances of sale are greatly enhanced. That is why more and more of the shop-keepers want to establish shops near the temple. In fact, in the beginning there were only the permanent shops in front of the temple. It was only because of the sharp increase in demand, that the cabin shops came up at all. As one moves away from the temple, the chances of the shops

being specifically visited by the people, specially the outside visitors, decreases and hence the lack of demand.

During the Rath Jatra, however, due to heavy traffic all these cabin shops have to be temporarily demolished, in order to widen the Grand road to afford more space for the traffic. Moreover, there was a proposal to demolish the shops permanently, but it has yet to take shape. This proposal has been necessitated by the fact that, besides being a hindrance to big traffic, the permanent shop owners feel that the coming up of these cabin shops has robbed them of their business. Originally there were only the permanent shops on either side of the Grand road, as such their business was pretty good. With the coming up of the cabin shops, the road of the buyers has been divided and the permanent shop owners feel that they are the losers. As such, the latter have been pretty keen since quite some time that the cabin shops should be removed. However, as yet they have not succeeded in this regard.

Modern and planned shops

These shops may also be called as the permanent shops. On the basis of available data it is observed that next to the cabin shops, the modern and planned shops occupy the second position so far as their total number is concerned. The planned and modern shops together constitute 37.9 percent of the total shops surveyed. Leaving aside some of the shops inside the temple, these permanent shops may be said to be among the oldest shops in Puri town.

Typology of shops Based on shop structure

Based upon the structure of the shops, the shops in Puri may be classified as follows :—

- (i) Permanent shops
- (ii) Cabin shops
- (iii) Temporary stalls and
- (iv) Road side Vendors.

As the name indicates, the permanent shops are those shops which have a permanent, immovable structures i.e. they cannot

be constructed and demolished again and again at the wish of either the shop-keeper or the municipal authorities. The outer row of shops on the Grand road, the shops in the Municipal markets and the majority of the shops in the Anand Bazar may be included in this category.

The cabin shops are a peculiarity of Puri. They generally have a wooden structure with a slightly raised platform and sloping tin roofs. Usually, when the cabin shops have to be temporarily demolished during the Rath Jatra, the whole cabin, which is generally movable, can be bodily carried to some other place. The cabin shops, as mentioned earlier fringe both sides of the Grand road in Puri.

The temporary stalls, again as their name indicates, are of a very temporary nature. It may consist of a small piece of tarpauline or a big umbrella made of bamboo to serve as the roof to protect the shopkeepers, as well as to some extent his wares, from sun and rain. The shops scattered inside the temple, except of course for most of the shops in the Anand Bazar, may be classed under this category. Apart from these, we find a number of such stalls near the temple selling sacred photographs and other sacred articles like vermillion, bangles etc.

The roadside vendors are those who have no fixed place of occupancy. They keep roaming from one place to the other. The roadside vendors, however, also have to pay a small amount 25 paisa daily to the municipality. The roadside vendors were selected for depth interview. The number of such vendors is not constant and keeps fluctuating from day to day. Based on shop structure, the shops of the 100 shopkeepers who were interviewed in depth may be classified as follows :—

<i>Types of Shops</i>	<i>Nos.</i>
Permanent shops	36
Cabin shops	57
Temporary stalls	4
Roadside Vendors	3
Total	100

Conclusions

To sum up, it may be said that the Grand road is the centre of all activities of Puri town, and 60 percent of the total shops of the town are located on this road. There are two municipal markets in Puri. Apart from these and other shops which are found scattered throughout the town, we find that there are some shops inside the temple premises too. There is a separate market called *Anand Bazar*, in the north-eastern corner of the temple close to the *Snan Mandap*. Based upon the shop structure, the shops in Puri may be classed under four heads—permanent shops, cabin shops, temporary stalls and roadside vendors. The cabin shops are quite numerous.

One interesting fact about the shops on the Grand road is that the greatest density of the shops is in the vicinity of the temple and as the distance from the temple increases, there is a sharp fall in the number of shops.

NOTES

1. For details see the map of Anand Bazar, where shops have been located within the temple's sacred *Kshetras*.

Articles Sold, Castes and Regional Affiliation of the Shopkeepers

The articles sold by the various shops is an important aspect to be considered when one studies the shops in a town as a whole. The articles sold reflect the demands of the consumers. The more the demand for a particular item, the larger will be the number of shops selling it. Hence, the supply and demand are directly linked to each other. However, this is true of all towns and cities. In Puri we find that apart from the usual items of sale, there are quite a few departures. The first and foremost is that here we find a lot of shops dealing in sacred articles, be they sacred photographs or important items needed in worship like vermillion, bangles, *prasad* etc. Besides these, exquisitely carved statuettes of soapstone, colourful clay and wooden toys, pretty trinkets and table ornaments of shell, polished birds and beasts of horn and small vivid wooden temples with replicas of the three famous images of Jagannath Balbhadra and Subhadra are also sold. Moreover, the famed filigree jewellery of Orissa, made of silver as fine as a spider's web and bright cottons and lustrous silk—all hand woven, are also available. The skill of the land's ancient sculptures still survives. Apart from these traditional things, a number of shops dealing in radios and other electrical implements, cycle repairs, lottery tickets, stationary, photo-studios, medical stores and dispensaries etc., have come up in course of time. Moreover, it is observed

that the shops outside the main temple and in its vicinity deal only in sacred articles, while as we move away from the temple the things sold tend to become more and more secular.

Shops of Grand Road

Since the shops on the Grand road account for almost 60% of the shops of the town, we find on this road representatives of almost all kinds of shops throughout the town. A large variety of articles are sold here at modest prices—right from the typical filigree jewellery and hand woven cottons and silks of Orissa to the pretty roadside tea stalls and cycle repairing shops. This large variety in the articles sold is due to the fact that it has to cater to the needs of the poor local people who hardly have enough money to eat two square meals a day, as well as the rich foreign tourists who are prepared to pay any price for any trinket or decoration piece which takes their fancy.

The permanent shops on the Grand road deal in a number of items. Close to the temple we find three big shops dealing in the fine-filigree jewellery for which Orissa is so famous. There are also some shops dealing in the typical Orissan handicrafts of shell, horn, icon etc. Besides these we find quite a few of the shops dealing in cloth—both the traditional hand woven cottons and silks as well as the usual materials. In this context, it is interesting to note that a Bombay Dyeing, authorised dealer's shop named *Shobaban* has also come up. Some of the permanent shops are found to be dealing in stationary, opticians and pens, photo emporiums, medical stores and dispensaries, radios and other electrical implements etc. There are three petrol pumps on the Grand road. Most of these permanent shops are pretty modern and well kept. Some of them are provided with telephones. Two of the medical stores were also provided with refrigerators.

As mentioned earlier the cabin shops in a part of the Grand road close to the temple deal only in readymade garments and hence this part of the Grand road has come to be locally known as *Luga Patti*. There is a corresponding *Basan Patti* on

the opposite side of the Grand road, where as the name indicates, burnished brass and metal ware and other such utensils are sold exclusively. We also find a large number of the cabin shops dealing in handicrafts. Some of the cabin shops deal in bangles, which seem to be in great demand in Puri. A number of small hotels and the stalls have come up in these cabin shops. Besides these, quite a few of these shops are found to be dealing in betel leaves, *bidis* and cigarettes, which are quite common among the residents of Puri. There are also some laundries and hair cutting saloons in the cabins. Lately two lottery ticket selling shops have been started in two cabins. This is a recent development.

As far as the temporary sheds are concerned, we find these shopkeepers selling vegetables, fruits, different kinds of iron ware, chappals etc. Apart from these, some of them near the temple are seen to be selling sacred photographs and small vivid wooden temples with the replicas of three famous images of Jagannath, Balbhadra and Subhadra. Some of the temporary stall owners are also seen to be selling *Chhapan Bhog* outside the temple. Another shopkeeper who catches our attention outside the temple is the one with heaps of 2 paisa, 5 paisa and even 10 paisa coins in front of him. He supplies small change to the pilgrims, by taking a small commission, of usually 4 paisa for a rupee.

Municipal Market

The shops in the Daitapara Sahi Municipal market are found to be dealing with a number of articles. There is a medical hall, an opticians and pen shop, a photo studio, a watch repairing shop, a tailoring shop etc. An Art-Emporium had also been started, but presently it is closed. Apart from these, there are a number of offices of various firms like Eastern Distributors, Utkat Saving Unit Co., Utkal Co-operative Society, Annapurna Trading Co. etc. in these shops. Some of the shops also belong to whole-salers in rice, betel nuts etc. There are pots, puffed rice etc., besides a few hotels. As mentioned earlier there are separate vegetable and meat stalls inside the market.

In the Chudanga Sahi Municipal market there are hardly any shops which operate regularly. There is only one grocery shop and a few vegetable stalls which open daily. The rest of the shops have been rented out by the municipality to various firms, but they do not appear to be much used.

Shops in other areas of the Town

The majority of the shops scattered throughout the town are tea stalls, road-side hotels, vegetable and grocery stalls etc., to cater to the day to day needs of the nearby people. The shops which have come up on the western side of the sea-shore are mostly dealing in Orissan handicrafts. There are also a few photo studios. These shops are usually visited by the tourists. In Mochi Sahi we find a number of shops belonging to cobblers and leather workers, who make beautiful shoes, slippers and even purses and hand bags from the animal skins. The State Government owned "Orissa Handicrafts" is also located here. On the *Swarg Dwar* road we find a mixture of the sacred and secular shops. There are some shops which make some of the articles for *prasad* which are then sent to the temple. Along-with these shops we also find tea stalls, vegetable stalls, grocery shops etc. In fact, the *Swarg Dwar* road is the only place where the sacred-secular is marked.

Shops Inside the Temple

The shops inside the temple deal, almost entirely, in sacred articles. The permanent shops in the Anand Bazar deal in *Chhapan Bhog*. However, recently about 3-4 years ago, one bangles' and other trinkets shop and a stationary shop, mostly dealing in religious books, have been started in the permanent shops of the Anand Bazar. The temporary stalls in the Bazar, however, deal only in *Anand Prasad* which is a peculiarity of Puri.

Apart from inside the Anand Bazar, there is a "Chhapan Bhog" shop at right angle to the Shree Jagannath Temple Office inside the temple premises. All the other shops scattered throughout the temple deal only in *Ghee battis*, flowers etc.

Typology of Shops Interviewed

The 100 shops which were studied in depth, may be classified as follows on the basis of the articles sold by them:

Table XX

<i>Articles Sold</i>	<i>Total No.</i>
Sacred articles	7
Prasad	6
Handicrafts	6
Readymade garments	4
Bangles	4
Betel/Cigarette etc.	10
Brass Ware	3
Hotels	4
Tailoring Shop	4
Vegetables	4
Grocery	3
Puffed rice	3
Iron Ware	2
Cycle repairs	2
Chappals	2
Aluminium utensils	2
Photo Studio	3
Medical Store	2
Laundry	2
Saloon	2
Fruits	2
Opticians and pens	2
Stationary	2
Shell-works	2
Betel-nuts	2
Ghee Batis	4
Miscellaneous	11
Total	100

From the above figures it is evident that of the 100 shops as many as 17 are dealing in sacred articles, the remaining 83 being secular shops.

Period of Establishment

Just as a study of the various articles sold, throws light on the supply and demand of certain items, similarly a glance at the periods during which the shops have been established, throws light upon the increased requirements of the town.

On the basis of their periods of establishment the 100 shops studied in depth may be classified as follows:—

Table XXI

<i>Period of Establishment</i>	<i>Total Na.</i>
Less than 5 years.	33
6 — 20 years.	28
21 — 50 years.	28
More than 50 years.	11
Total	100

Thus the majority of the shops have come up in the post independence period. This is quite plausible because with the gradual increase in the population of the town, there has also been a considerable increase in the tourists and pilgrims visiting Puri. Both these factors directly effect the number of shops.

Moreover, it was observed that the permanent shops are much older than the cabin shops. The cabin shops are pretty recent in origin, having been started only 15—20 years ago. However, some of the cabin shop owners had roadside shops when the cabins had not started. As such, if we take even that period into account, then some of the present cabin shops are also pretty old. It was also noticed that on a generalized level the utensils and cloth shops were among the oldest so far as the

articles sold may be taken into consideration. The oldest shop that I came across was opposite the *Basan Patti*, dealing in cotton articles. This shop was said to be around 200 years old, having been started four generations ago. The present owner, quite a learned person, is helped by his sons in running the shop. Originally the shop was situated below the Raghunandan library and was shifted to this place about 80 years ago.

The shops inside the temple too, are pretty old since they are generally owned on a hereditary basis. Quite a few of the *Ghee bati* shops inside the temple are 2—3 generations old. The shops inside the temple may be divided into two types from this point of view, those which are very old and are passed down on a hereditary basis may be included in the first category, and the shops belonging to widows and other such helpless persons, where by the shop ends after the death of the individual concerned, may be included in the second category. Of the shops in the Anand Bazar, though the shops dealing in sacred articles are very old, the two secular shops have come up very recently.

The shops of the municipal market too are pretty recent in origin, though here too we find some shopkeepers who had shops elsewhere before and shifted there later on. Of the other shops scattered throughout the town, some of the shops on *Swarg Dwar* road and *Mochi Sahi* are very old. The shops in the vicinity of the sea shore have come up only lately.

Age and Education of the Shopkeepers

A study of the age and education of the shopkeepers revealed the following facts :—

Table XXII

<i>Age of Shopkeepers</i>	<i>Total No.</i>
Below 20 years	6
21—50 years	71
Above 50 years	23
Total	100

Table XXIII

<i>Education of Shopkeepers</i>	<i>Total No.</i>
Illiterate	28
Non-matriculate	58
Matriculate	7
Above matric	7
Total	<u>100</u>

The conclusions from the above are not surprising. As expected, the majority of the shopkeepers, as many as 71 percent, are in the 21—50 years age group. The shopkeepers below 20 years of age form a very small percentage, though many of the owners are assisted in the shops by their young sons. The shopkeepers above 50 years are also quite a few.

As far as the education is concerned we find that majority of the shopkeepers are literate, however 28% of them were found to be illiterate. The owner of "Alankar" a permanent handicraft shop, Shri Ansar Ali (30) is an M.A. in Economics. He informed that inspite of his higher education he was working in his shop because it is his hereditary profession. Apart from this, Shri Chakradhar Sahoo (64), the owner of a cotton articles shop, has studied till class IX and is also a Sangeet Acharya. The majority of the shopkeepers are educated till the primary classes. However, the important thing to note here is that most of them realize the importance of education in the modern times and are bringing up their children in this way.

Caste and Regional Affiliation of Shopkeepers

The most frequently mentioned peculiarity of the Hindu social structure is the institution of castes or the caste system. "If recruitment is not free i.e. if a status group is not open to everybody, but only those who have certain ascribed attributes

which cannot be acquired by others, then it is called a caste" (Madan and Majumdar: 1956). A caste is a closed class. A person is born into it. Caste in India, is a social institution deriving sanction from and inexplicably interwoven with the Hindu religion. Caste sanction and strictures, even today, govern all social, religious and economic activities of an average Indian in the villages and to a decreasing extent in the towns and cities.

The caste stratification of Indian society is based on the *Chaturvarna*¹ doctrine. It refers to the composition of the Indian population at the time of the Aryan invasion. It is believed (according to Manu) that the Creator created four *Varnas* which came up from four parts of his body. From his head came the Brahmin, from his body the Kshatriya, from his thighs the Vaishya and from his feet the Sudra. Each gave rise to an endogamous Varna and different castes. The Brahmin enjoying the highest respect, devoted themselves to religion, ritual performances, learning and teaching. The Kshatriya ranked next as rulers, defenders and warriors. Below them in rank were put the Vaishya, who became cultivators, artisans and traders. These first three are called *Dwij* (twice born in view of their rights and duties to undergo certain ritual ceremonies, which invest them with a ritual cum spiritual status. Below the Vaishya, without any rank at all were put the Sudra consisting of menials and servants who engaged in impure tasks. The untouchable sections of the Sudra caste constitute a fifth outer group, sometimes designated as exterior castes. Based on the four main castes, thousands of sub-castes have emerged with growing population and intermarriage between the original and the later castes.

However, caste status is not the function of an occupation, instead it is the ritual purity or impurity of a caste occupation which is the determinant of the status which a caste is to enjoy. A profane occupation like burning the dead, scavenging, skinning dead animals etc., being ritually impure entails a low or a negative status.

The ancient scriptures, thus, also laid down specific jobs for each caste. Departure from prescribed caste occupations and adoption of non-traditional occupations is the most pronounced aspect of the contemporary times. Today, caste distinctions and the following of the ancient caste traditions are becoming less and less marked in large towns and cities, in particular, and throughout the country, in general. In urban centres questions of birth are no longer of any importance. Members of all castes work together and take their meals together, though in theory members of different castes should follow different diets and eat separately. An association through work carried out together has superseded the idea of caste. A study of the castes of the various shopkeepers in Puri amply justifies this statement. Moreover, we also find that some people from different parts of India having various regional affiliations have also settled in Puri to earn their livelihood, apart from the people who have migrated from the nearby rural hinterlands.

Table XXIV

Typology of Shopkeepers on the basis of their Castes

<i>Caste</i>	<i>Total No.</i>
Brahmin	12
Kayastha	8
Khandayat	11
Karan	14
Gauria	3
Tanti	3
Teli	10
Kharuda	4
Barik	4
Dhobi	2
Patera	6
Pradhan	3
Kaibarto	1
Komti	1

<i>Caste</i>	<i>Total No.</i>
Kachera	1
Parida	2
Karmakar	1
Marwari	1
Baniya	1
Oswal	1
Telugu	3
Muslim	4
Scheduled Caste	3
Total	100

Table XXV

*Typology of Shopkeepers on the Basis of Their
Regional Affiliation*

<i>State</i>	<i>Total No.</i>
Rajasthan	3
U.P.	1
Bengal	6
A.P.	3
Orissa	87
Total	100

The above figures suggest that though the shops are owned predominantly (87%) by the Local Oriya people, some people from far off places in Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh have also settled in Puri for the purposes of earning their livelihood. Moreover, few shopkeepers are also from the nearby states of Andhra Pradesh and West Bengal.

As far as the castes of these shopkeepers are concerned it is surprising to note that as many as 12 percent of the shops are owned by the Brahmin pandas. This shows the change in their attitude towards the acceptance of non-traditional occupations. Many of the pandas have thus severed their links with their centuries old traditional occupation and gainfully taken up private business—maintaining a petrol pump, a medical dispensary, a photo studio, an optician shop etc. This is a very significant trend in modernization which is much more so because Puri is basically a traditional city and its citizens tend to be more orthodox. Apart from this, it is also noticed that 3 percent of the shops belong to scheduled castes and 4 percent to Muslims. Thus, we find that the Brahmins, the scheduled castes and the Muslims are employed in the same occupation, which seems to be an interesting feature of urbanization of a traditional city where caste considerations, religious and sectarian affiliations are being relaxed and overlooked.

Conclusion

Like all other places Puri is, thus, marked by many recent developments in trade and commerce. The variety of the articles sold in the shops, has increased tremendously. The shops may be divided into two types depending upon the articles sold—shops selling sacred articles and those dealing in secular objects. Of the latter apart from the shops dealing in various articles of day to day needs such as rice, grocery, vegetables, fruits, spices, betel leaves etc., there are other shops too like cycle repairs, medicine shops, hair cutting saloons, books and stationary shops etc. Puri is also famous for the famed silver filigree jewellery of Orissa and the bright, lustrous, hand woven cottons and silks. The presence of two shops dealing in secular objects, inside the Anand Bazar of the temple is quite significant. However, the shops dealing in sacred articles are mostly located inside or in the vicinity of the temple. As such, the sacred-secular continuum is not very marked on the Grand road. On the *Swarg Dwar* road however, we find this continuum to be pretty distinct.

So far the period of establishment is concerned we find that most of the shops inside the temple are pretty old. Of the shops on the Grand road, the permanent shops are older than the cabin shops, the latter having come up in the last 15-20 years. Majority of the shopkeepers are lettered and are in the 21-50 years age group.

NOTE

1. For details see N.K. Dutta's "Origin of Caste System", N. Prasad's "Myths of Caste System", M. N. Srinivas's "Caste System in India" etc.

9

Summary and Conclusions

I

When considered theoretically the sacred complex of Puri as that of Gaya (Vidyarthi: 1961), Janakpur (Jha: 1971) and Kashi (Vidyarthi, Sarasvati & Jha: 1976) is predominantly Great tradition oriented in the sense that it continues to serve the entire Hindu world as reflected in the predominance of Sanskritic sacred centres, in the significance of the sacred performances as well as in the prevailing influences of the ascetics and sacred intelligentsias. Persisting as an integral part of this sacred complex, there are various types of worship as well as types of priesthood that may be considered essentially indigenous and folk like in their characteristics. In other words "the sacred complex of a place of Hindu pilgrimage in India in itself is an intricate combination of the great and little traditions". (Vidyarthi 1961: p. 111).

However, like in every other place regardless of whether it is great or little tradition oriented, in Puri too we find a number of changes taking place under the impact of modernization and urbanization. Modernization of a cultural tradition implies that the "tradition has been transformed into a form that did not exist before a certain date" (Singer: 1972). Whether or not the changes in cultural norms change the total structure of the tradition depends upon many things—the balance between

traditionalizing and modernizing changes, the speed of change, the degree of looseness or flexibility built into the tradition and ultimately the judgement and actions of those considered the authorities among the literati. It is in these aspects that the modernization of a Great Traditional city is a slower process than that of a metropolitan centre. The main reason behind this is the vast difference behind the attitudes of the traditional authorities—the literati and the new social type—the intelligentsia. The former regard many changes as continuous with their great tradition and are incorporating them with a redefined orthodoxy. They regard some changes as fundamental threats to the tradition and have actively organized resistance and defence against them. The intelligentsia of the metropolitan centres, however, tend to accept change more readily.

The sacred complex is in continuous contact with a whole lot of pilgrims and tourists, who come from different strata of society and are important agents of modernization. Considered in its structural extensions, the sacred complex serves the local regional and the entire Hindu universe through sacred activities, and, in turn, it is served by all of them in one form or another. A sacred complex provides a meeting place for different kinds of peoples and traditions, of castes and sects, of class and status, and, thus, nourishes a sense of unity. It is a place where exchange of ideas, ways of life and traditions take place. Under the impact of western civilization the sacred complex is witnessing a transformation with the adoption of industrial technology and new means of transportation, and with acceptance of the principles of secularization and democracy, India, as a whole, is undergoing a series of social and economic changes. With all these changes the sacred complex, which constitutes an integral part of civilization, is also in process of change. The three elements of the sacred complex—the sacred geography, the sacred performances and the sacred specialists are under a process of adjustment to changing situation.

The sacred complex of Puri has been affected to a considerable extent by the general developments in the secular aspects of the town, which are fast expanding both in area and in

activities. The roles of the secular agencies like the market, government offices etc., are increasing day by day. The breaking up of the joint family system, the increase in modern needs and aspirations, scientific and secular education, village upliftment programmes etc., have all tended to develop a different state of mind, a new consciousness among the educated Hindus—both the local sacred specialists as well as the pilgrims. A sense of secularization and commercialization appears to have entered into their reasoning. Yet under the pressure of old customs and traditions, and with mixed feelings of awe and reverence people are loath to completely cut off from the traditional practices though the sacred specialists pretend to believe in an orthodox way of life, but in actual practice they have been influenced by the ways of their *jajmans* and by other factors and forces that operate outside their caste organisation. The sacred performances are becoming less elaborate of fit in with their changing life pattern. The importance of the priest is fast decreasing and his monopolistic right in dealing with the pilgrims is fast disappearing.. As new types of institutions and people are becoming interested in the organisation of pilgrimage the sacred specialists are also beginning to think of taking up other suitable jobs. It thus appears that the whole sacred complex which constitutes an important part of civilization is in the process of reorganisation in accordance with the general changes that are going on in and around India. In other words, the sacred complex of Puri is undergoing "secondary urbanization" in terms of Redfield and Singer. However, it is still in the process of transition.

II

The problem of modernization is linked up with the problem of education which being a, key that unlocks the door to modernization, has been widely regarded as an instrument of social change. Social change is now taking place at a faster rate and it will be futile to obstruct its passage. But in order to ensure that social change takes place in the right direction and manner the eminently important role of education in ushering in the forces of social change has to be understood and

accepted. Modernization is coming to the world as a great force of techno-economic and social development. Education plays a key role in this process. In fact, itself being an index of modernization, it is the prime mover of all other indices like urbanization, mobility, political participation, achievement, and media of mass communication.

The process of modernisation passes through three phases—urbanization, education and media participation (Deniel Lerner 1962: p. 60-62). For any society to become modernized it is necessary that it must urbanize itself to a critical minimum. It is in the urban areas that the process of modernization begins and the skills and technical know-how are generated. A town or a city grows up gradually. It pulls the neighbouring rural population because it affords them many opportunities. Gradually the rural areas lying in the hinterland begin to feed the urban areas. In order to keep himself in town and to keep the urban organizations functioning, the town dweller has to keep himself informed on various subjects. The necessity of gaining knowledge forces him to get education (literacy) in the second phase of the modernizing process. When a society has been partially urbanized it needs literate people to make use of the attributes of modernization. Though illiterate people may also make use of modern amenities produced by an industrial urban area after some waste of time, energy and resources, it is the literate people who make the best use of them. City life demands its dwellers literacy at every stage. To read sign-boards and posters, to board the bus or any mechanised vehicle going in the right direction, to have a smattering knowledge of the citizens' rights and duties etc. When a small section of the urban population becomes literate, it starts the third phase of modernization by becoming the instrument of the production of the media of mass communication, newspaper, radio, films and so on. These medias in their turn create an atmosphere for the production of more and more literates.

With so many development schemes, programmes and activities by numerous agencies, various innovations have been

introduced, to be acquainted with which a knowledge of their operation is essential. For new things, new knowledge is necessary which can be obtained only through education. Benefits of modernization motivate parents to send their sons for higher education in order to rise in social status. This motivation to education leads to more occupational and social mobility which gives rise to modernization. With equal opportunities afforded, education gives a further chance to men of the lower status to move higher and higher up and catch up with those who have already reached a higher status and stabilized their position there.

* Another reason of education leading to social mobility is the social image formed in the minds of the illiterate people. They have associated education with high position in society, great wealth, power, prestige and the capacity of earning much money without doing manual labour. An illiterate person cannot think of identifying himself with that image. But he thinks that he need not commit the same mistake which his father committed in not giving him education. So, in order to rise in the esteem of his fellowmen he may send his children to school, so that after education they may move up and carry him forward along with them. His social elevation is also linked up with theirs.

Mobility is said to be the harbinger of social change and both are to a great extent inter-dependant and mutually inclusive. Because of social and occupational mobility different kinds of social changes are brought about in societies. The defined and set roles which are assigned to the different members of a society no longer remain in the original form. They also change. One of the important social changes that has been brought about by the spatial and social mobility is the neglect of certain social institutions. Similar is the case with the various socio-religious rituals and observances which cannot be performed by individuals who are on the move. Thus, though everything is not well with mobility, yet to have a bigger advantage, smaller disadvantages have to be ignored.

Empathy is one of the chief characteristics of a mobile individual and an index of modernization. Empathic conditions and feelings can only be found in a modern society. One of the chief characteristics of a rural society is their inability to pose the question-why?—either to themselves or to others. When a tradition oriented member of these societies is confronted with a new innovation or social change, he forthwith rejects it because it was not so during his father's and fore father's time. He does not ask himself why such innovations or social changes should be introduced in his society. A modern man such as the citizen of a metropolitan centre does not reject them without asking the question why? He would like to know what such changes are, how they could be introduced in the society and what effect these will have on the individuals and the society as a whole.

This rationality of the modern man of the metropolitan centre as compared to the traditional man of the great traditional city, is because of his empathic capacity.

When an individual gains mobility he develops the empathic capacity of imagining and identifying himself with new individuals, roles and situations. The new circumstances under which he is placed afford him ample opportunities to develop rationality and the choices of new rules that he makes during the process of his modernization are based on rationality and not on any preconceived notions. A vast majority of the people of Puri town have not developed this empathic capacity.

In the fields of political consciousness and participation the people of Puri have shown a marked degree of interest and enthusiasm irrespective of their educational level. In fact, political consciousness and participation have increased at a much faster pace than has the educational achievement of the people.

Need for achievement is an important factor for the development of the personality structure of an individual and thereby development of a society. Neclelland (1961) has proved the hypothesis that, an achievement is essential for economic

growth and modernization of a country. People with high achievement excel at a given task than those with low achievement. The former work hard to get a positive social sanction and are not much concerned with the outward manifestations of material reward and recognition. Such a person is more concerned with a sense of satisfaction which he gets on his personal achievements. It goes without saying that the members of the traditional societies singularly lack a sense of achievement. If they get two square meals a day and a few pieces of clothing they feel themselves the most contented men. They are not prepared to accept change as readily as their counterparts in the big metropolitan centres. Even if they attempt to achieve something great the constrictive hold of their society, in which there is not much scope for mobility, does not enable them to gain anything higher. They cannot go against what is ordained. Though this may not be applicable to a handful of educated or semi-educated youngmen who aspire to achieve something far superior than what they deserve, it is true of the vast multitude of the people whose only drawback is that they have no aspiration.

Thus, in order to modernize and to bring about social change in an effective and useful manner, the people will have to inculcate in them a motivation for achievement. Armed with this motivation they will find a greater incentive to work more and harder for their socio-economic betterment.

The different media of mass communication have been universally regarded as great estalytic agents for bringing about social change and modernization. Except for the newspapers, their greatest advantage is that, both enlightened and ignorant and highly educated and illiterate can derive benefit from them. They bring the most valuable material information. Without actually being there people see and know about different countries, the land and the people, their manners and customs. The radio brings the whole world at their door. The information brought by this media creates in them an urge to improve their standard of living and to be like the other advanced people. This urge motivates them to possess such medern amenities

through which they can improve their social, economic and political status. Their ambitions and aspirations go high and with them goes up the will to work for self improvement.

To bring about modernization and social change and to guide the masses to suitably adopt themselves to the changing situations the emergence of a new elite is imperative. This elite has to be the custodian of traditional values and purveyor of modern norms. It has to serve as a link between tradition and modernity. It can only function when it is conscious of both the traditional and the modern values. This elite will have to make a bold and determined effort to wrench the masses free from their slumber and enthuse them for a sustained socio-economic development. It will have to formulate plans and chalk out strategy of work and get the people execute the plans. However, the programme of social change should be integrated and comprehensive so as not to leave any aspect of their socio-cultural life unattended.

III

The urban characteristics that go with large metropolitan centres are to be found in Puri—a large population, rapid growth, predominance of males over females, a high proportion of immigrants, high literacy rates, a highly specialized non-agricultural occupational structure, quite a few social and cultural facilities and organisations and to some extent a heterogeneous linguistic, religious, ethnic and social groups. However, these characteristics do not have the same high absolute values in Puri as in other metropolitan centres of India, but the degree of urbanization is high if compared with the city's hinterland in the state or with India's present degree of urbanization.

However, as far as the housing conditions and other civic amenities are concerned we find that Puri does not exhibit the typical characteristics of a city. A large percentage, almost 93% of the families live in *kutcha* houses and have no basic civic amenities common to daily urban life while most of the households in the newly developed localities, mostly near the sea shore, have all the modern amenities, majority of the houses

lack them. 70.81 percent of the total households lack electric connections, 88.77 percent of the total households do not have any direct water supply and 26.86 percent of the total households have no provision for a lavatory. Moreover, adequate recreational facilities in Puri are also lacking. There is ample scope to further develop the sea-shore and other natural gifts in Puri. However, the traditional *Akhras* should be maintained and the urbanized *Pandas* and other sacred specialists should be encouraged to continue their traditional forms of recreation.

Apart from these changes in the working and living conditions of the people of Puri, modernization also implies social mobility whereby people come to see the social future as manipulable rather than ordained and their personal prospects in terms of achievement rather than heritage. This is, in fact, the attitude which is gradually being adopted by the *Pandas*, which is apparent from the changes in their attitude towards education and acceptance of non-traditional occupations. However, it is a very slow and gradual process, which is the characteristic of urbanization of a Great Traditional City.

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